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Only

the *haatufunga* were allowed on the top of the tomb. The many bones found outside the vault were called the bones of the *fakafao* or attendants of the great people buried within the vault. Interred in the vault are also Nana-sipauu (Female Tui Tonga), Manumataongo (son of Tui Tonga, Lau fili-tonga), and Makahokovalu (the late Tuita's father).

The construction of some royal and some chiefly tombs took place during the lifetime of the prospective occupant, if traditions are to be relied upon. The kings seem in this regard to have evinced something of the interest of the pyramid builders of Egypt. The great Tui Tonga Tuitatui and Uluakimata I (Telea) directed the construction of their own tombs (26, pp. 38, 49). A chief named Lavakahaatuukau had earth transported from Fiji to build his tumulus at Maufanga, near Nukualofa, Tongatabu. He had moved his residence from Mua to Maufanga where he died. The tumulus is about 8 feet deep at its center and 75 feet in diameter. The priest Makau had constructed at Fakakakai, Haano Island, Haapai, a three-compartment stone vault for the interment of his body, in order to deceive enemies who might attempt to secure his corpse.

Cemeteries other than royal tombs seem to have been utilized by the people of a locality whether or not they were related to one another. Certain cemeteries seem to be used principally for people of the lower orders, while others hold the remains of people of quite different ranks. No doubt Christianity has had a quite democratizing influence in this respect. Husband and wife seem to be interred in the same cemetery as a rule, with the exception of the commoner wives of high chiefs, who were buried apart.

ALBINOS

The prevalence of albinism in Tonga was not determined. I saw an albino child in Haapai. An adult named Manumanu was reported as living at Mutoa, Huano Island, Haapai. Napaa, a man of Lofanga Island, Haapai, was reported to have two albino children. Nothing was learned from informants as to any special attitude towards or treatment of albinos. However, a story recorded (26, p. 192) attributes, at least to the female albinos concerned in the story, anthropophagous habits. Whether this was a general ancient conception I cannot say.

BERDACHES

Little could be learned about berdaches (*fakafafine*, a word which Baker defines as "a monster"). Only a single informant, a man of Nomuka Island, vouchsafed information concerning them. He said that anciently "there were many," but in 1920 he knew of but one, a person of Maufanga, Tonga-

did not see the wall." The term *alaipuke* means "to take the outer works of a fortress"; *tele* means "to charge the enemy from the rear." 725
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Public boasting by individual warriors before a combat was a common practice. An important brave would brandish his club before the commander and tell what he would do. It was customary to hold a kava ceremony on the eve of battle, and during the ceremony the braves would boast, or pledge themselves to valiant action. It was not unusual for a warrior to boast that he would kill the first foe that should be slain. This of course pledged him to rush foremost into the thick of the battle. Occasionally the chief of the army would give to the champion who pledged himself to such an undertaking the most important cup of kava, the chief's own cup (17, pp. 142-143). The first slain enemy was called the *uluafi* (literally, head of fire). 701
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A particularly vindictive and insulting way to kill an enemy was to render him helpless, then drink a coconut while sitting on his prostrate body. This was done by Tupoutoa in slaying Tupouniua in Mariner's time, to avenge the assassination of Tupoutoa's father, the Tui Kanokupolu Tukuaho. The victim was killed not in battle, but was caught unarmed after a bath. 726

Bodies of troops were classified as *matanga* (company) and *kongakau* (regiment). The number of men in each is not known but it seems likely that *matanga* was the smaller body, as it was comprised of troops commanded by a single chief, and that a *kongakau* presumably comprised two or more *matanga*. However, Baker (2) defines both terms as "regiment" and the Catholic dictionary (46) gives the added meaning of "people of a locality" for the term *kongakau*. The term *kapisi* denotes the wing of an army. 701

Three *kongakau* are said to have existed anciently in Tongatabu, the *kongakau* of Haamea, of Utulau, and of Matakehe, each consisting of the men of a whole district. King George I made a new *kongakau*, that of Haa Vakatolo. The *kongakau* Matakhehe belonged to the Tui Tonga. The other two ancient ones may have been under the Tui Kanokupolu or Tui Haa Takalaua. In a manuscript by the chief Maatu I find references to what may be bodies of troops.

Haa Vakatolo and Lolopaongo [near Foui, Tongatabu?] are the people (regiments?) who belong on the side of the Tui Kanokupolu. Haamalo [near Lapaha] is on the side of the Tui Tonga. Haamalo Matakhehe and Pelehake [near Alaki?] are the people (regiments?) on the side of the Tui Haa Takalaua.

In the early nineteenth century at least, the practice of eating some of the slain enemies had arisen, due, so Mariner (40) says, to Fijian influence. The corpse of an enemy was contemptuously referred to as *pakola*, a Fijian term said to signify "underneath." 727
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The term *fakaulu* denotes the custom of bringing the slain troops of one's (according to a modern informant) own army and placing them before the 727

Tonga at Utulifuka, which stands on the south bank of the Vaitaki, an artificial channel which runs down towards Haatua. Teeveka stands opposite Utulifuka, on the north side of the Vaitaki. 773
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On the occasions when the people of Tuutaki went to the ceremonies (a single stick show or something of that sort), they used to tell Tuutaki to stay at home and get the food ready and to mind the place. This would be done year after year, Tuutaki regularly staying at home. But on one occasion when the boy was nearly grown, the people went off as usual to Utulifuka, telling him to stay at home and do his usual job. The boy put the food in the earth oven, then went and dug clay (*umea*), washed himself clean, put on his tapa garment, got a coconut club, and went to the festival (*katoanga*). The people were there in two sides, one side from Tuutaki and the other from Ohonua. Tuutaki went and sat with the Ohonua side. In the games (*fetaaki*) that followed, he showed great prowess, nobody on the Tuutaki side being able to overcome him, and the Tuutaki people were beaten. He was not recognized by his own folk, because he was decked out very handsomely, and they thought he was somebody who had arrived by sea from Tongatabu. Afterwards he went off home to Tuutaki and put dust on himself and made himself dirty so that he should not be recognized as the champion of the contest. Later the defeated Tuutaki contestants from Utulifuka were brought home on stretchers, badly damaged. Tuutaki asked what had caused all the trouble. They told him a new champion had smitten them all. They told him to get the food for them and, as he was doing his work they noticed a spot on the top of his forehead which he had not dirtied, and recognized their opponent. They thereupon determined to kill him, but Tuutaki hearing of this induced a girl there to elope with him. They two went and fortified themselves in the mountain fortress of Matakita, towards the southeastern end of Eua. The girl was given one gate to hold and Tuutaki looked after the other gate. When the Tuutaki people attacked them, they could not defeat the two. Afterwards the two left Matakita and went to Utukape.

At this place holes were dug and pointed stakes stuck in the bottom. Tuutaki fought with and destroyed the people of his wife's brother, who lived towards the weather shore, looking towards the rising sun. (For the sequel, see 26, p. 101.) He made holes in the rock and covered them with *kope* leaves (hence the name Utukape). When his opponents trod on these places they fell into the holes and Tuutaki then slew them. After the fight Tuutaki stuck his two-pointed spear (*tamataua*) into the ground at the edge of the precipice and rested with his back against it. He called his wife to bring water, which she did. When he put his head back to drink from the coconut shell she shoved him over the cliff.

CANNIBALISM

Very little new information was obtained concerning cannibalism in Tonga. The common belief among the Tongans of today is that their forefathers were not cannibals and that man-eating was exceptional, a view which fits well Mariner's remarks on the subject. 266

West (62, p. 270) says,

There can be no doubt as to the existence of cannibalism in these islands in former days. It never became so prevalent as it once was in New Zealand, nor so truly atrocious in its character, as it now is, or has been in very recent years, in the islands of Fiji. It was customary, however, in times of war. [17]

The following are a few references to cannibalism which I recorded. Father Deguerrey of the Catholic church at Mua, Tongatabu, referred to a

cave 500 yards from Toula village, Vavau, which is reputed to contain 266 human bones which are the remains of cannibal feasts. This cave has an entrance at sea level and slopes upward to 50 feet elevation. It was not examined, but might well prove to be a burial cave.

Kaifakaa, an ancient chief of Utulau, Tongatabu, was said to have been a man-eater.

Nomuka Island, Haapai, was the home of a cannibal who is reported to have frequently made raids on Tongatabu for victims. (See p. 225.) West (62, p. 271) gives this man's name as Uhila and says his cannibal propensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji. [177]

In the neighboring island of Fonoifua there dwelt another cannibal, Tāifonoifua, perhaps a chief, though in another connection said to be a commoner, but a brave fighter. A valley on Fonoifua, from which heavy rains wash human bones, is reputed to be the place where he buried the bones of his victims. Tahifisi of Haalai, Foa Island, was also a cannibal. His name suggests that he was of Fijian origin (p. 151). Both of these men apparently lived about the close of the nineteenth century.

The following account refers to Tahifisi, the cannibal chief or matapule of Haalai, Foa Island, Haapai.

There were twins brought to Lotofoa from Haalai to escape from the cannibal chief Tahifisi who used to roast people at Haalai. Some of the people were still alive and these twins were brought from there. They recruited the people of Lotofoa to dig a fortress in preparation for the coming of Tahifisi. After a time when this was finished some more people fled from Tahifisi at Haalai and sought shelter at Lotofoa. Whereupon the twins gave instructions to have the fortress gate toward Faleloa guarded, fearing Tahifisi might attempt entry there. The twins ordered all of the people to go and guard the Faleloa gate and leave the gate towards Fotua, which was called Tūkutonunga, to them to look after. In the meantime Matauvave from Hihifo, Lifuka Island, was preparing to fight Lotofoa. 266 725 173

When the twins heard of Matauvave's plans they took banana suckers and planted them in the sand at Fuhu in a row. Then they fetched unprinted tapa and arranged it on the tops of the banana plants and then placed torches here and there. In the evening they set fire to the torches. When Matauvave's warriors came marching along and saw the light from the torches, they thought that they were seen and that the attack would not be successful. So they then turned down to Ahanga and came to the ford called Makapulepule. The twins again went along and lighted the torches there and Matauvave's fighters again retreated. They then returned to Lotofoa, but found that the village had been burnt down by Tahifisi and his people. There still remained Tahifisi's people who first fled from him and some of Tahifisi's own people. After the burning of the village these people got together and decided to fight Tahifisi. They killed Tahifisi. That is how Tahifisi's food oven of people at Haalai came to be neglected. To this day the food oven is still untouched.

As to cannibalism in ancient times, there are but few references. The first is to the killing and eating of Ahoeitu, the first Tui Tonga. The story of the origin of kava, an event attributed to the reign of Momo, the tenth Tui Tonga, gives a second example. Turner (59, p. 236) and Krämer 266 643 175 276

(36, vol. 1, p. 301) refer to a Tongan king, apparently about the twentieth Tui Tonga, who was a cannibal. An unusual form of cannibalism is revealed in the story of the Tui Tonga Takalaua and Kauulufonua I. Two assassins were carved to pieces alive and their raw flesh served as relish for the kava drinking (26, p. 34). Bamboo knives were used as carvers. A story about the deity Hikuleo (op. cit. p. 192) refers also to the carving alive of children for food. See page 312 for the reference to a cannibal god of Samoa who was ultimately slain himself and eaten by the son of a Tui Haa Takalaua.

ENTERTAINMENT

Tongan entertainments have been well described by Cook and subsequent writers. By far the best general account of Tongan dances is given by Bishop Blanc (39, pp. 74-86). Some scraps of additional information are presented here.

At the wedding of the present queen of Tonga the following dances were performed: the *kailan*, an Uvean dance by men, in which small paddles called *kaupaki* are used; *mauluulu*, a Samoan dance; *meke*, a Fijian dance; *tau fakaniua*, a Niuatoputapu dance; *lakalaka*, a Tongan dance, in which the women were seated, the men standing. Every village put on a *lakalaka*. The songs accompanying some of the dances told about the queen's wedding. The songs of the Vavau people told about a recent famine there.

At an entertainment which I attended at Taunga, April 2, 1921, a poetic reference was made by a poet and his chorus to a visit I had made in the forenoon of the day to the great vault tomb of hapless Talafaiva, wife of the Tui Tonga Uluakimata I (26, p. 37). Whether the poet spoke extemporaneously or whether he knew of my intended visit, the reference was cleverly made.

This entertainment, which was a picnic, was given us by the Governor of Vavau, but the refreshments and entertainment were actually furnished by Akauola, the matapule who holds Taunga as a fief from the king. About twenty Taunga girls danced. They were seated in a row on mats outside the sunshelter under which the food was served. The costumes were varied, consisting of leaves and flowers sewed to cloth and tapa, also bright colored cloth garments. Plumes of red and blue material and guinea-hen feathers were worn in the hair of some of the dancers. The exposed portions of the body were oiled.

All were sitting dances with the exception of two which seemed to be endurance contests. They were performed by pairs of girls, a man joining in apparently to urge on the girls. In one of these dances the feet were

[Tofua, Late, and Ata Islands]

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Early voyagers speak of Tofua as inhabited. An old woman, living on Kotu Island in 1920, was the last inhabitant of Tofua. She was removed by force by her relatives, who feared she was becoming too old to care for herself and that the dogs might eat her if she became disabled.

Late Island, a volcanic cone lying west of the coralline Vavau group, was formerly inhabited. The Late people and their descendants now live on Hunga Island in the Vavau group. Late served at times as a place of refuge for political exiles. Fukofuka, a Vavau chief, who incurred the disfavor of a great Vavau chief, presumably Ulukalala, fled there and sought in vain to oppose the troops sent for him.

The people of Late seem to have had a quarrel of long standing with the people of Moungaone Island, in Haapai, for each group seems to have attacked the other at times. The fortress of Amaka on Late was built for refuge against Moungaone raids. The chief of Late bore the title of Totolate. There is one at present. He was appointed by the Tui Kanakupolu.

ATA ISLAND

My data as to the settling of outlying islands are by far the fullest for Ata Island, lying about ninety miles south of Tongatabu and in latitude 22° 20', almost at the tropic of Capricorn. Like Toku, Ata was a haven of safety for the certain political refugees.

Ata was discovered and named Pylstaarts by Tasman in January, 1643, while he was voyaging northward from New Zealand to Tonga. No mention is made of signs of inhabitants and presumably it was not then occupied. Tongan tradition makes the peopling somewhat later.

By 1791 Ata was inhabited. Thomson (21), discussing the voyage of Captain Edwards in H. M. S. *Pandora*, says: "Running southward, he made Pylstaarts, at that time inhabited by Tongan castaways, and the fact that he did not stop to examine it, although he saw by the smoke that it was inhabited. . . ."

In the Voyage of the Duff (65, 66), Ata is mentioned as uninhabited, which would seem to be a mistake since it was already occupied in 1791. Speaking of the Spanish discoverer Fran. Ant. Maurelle who passed in March, 1781, the Voyage of the Duff says: "He also saw the high uninhabited spot, discovered and named Pylstaarts island by Tasman, in latitude 22° 22', 175° 59' west longitude. This he called La Sola."

West (62, p. 271) relates the following story about the peopling of Ata:

. . . strange tales are told of one of their chiefs, called Uhila, whose cannibal propensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji. This chief resided at Nomuka; but he was in the habit of making sudden descents upon different islands, for the purpose of clubbing and kidnapping any of the inhabitants he could lay hold of, with whose

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bodies he returned to Nomuka, where he performed his inhuman orgies in a cave, which is said to be still full of the bones of his many victims. The peopling of the distant island, called Pylstaarts, about ninety miles to the south of Tongatabu, is attributed to this cause. In the depth of a dark and stormy night, Uhila effected a landing upon the island of Ata, one of the Tonga group. To escape his murderous attack, a party of the inhabitants hastily manned a *namatefua*, or single-sailing canoe, which happened to be moored on the lee side of the island. Hoisting the sail, they bore away, intending to make for the adjacent coast of Tongatabu. This, however, they were unable to do, owing to the darkness and the increasing storm. They were carried they knew not whither. They seemed only to have escaped one kind of death to meet with another. But the wind and sea carried them straight upon Ata, the Pylstaarts Island of the charts, where the little company grew into a Tonguese colony, which has, in recent years, claimed kindred with Tonga, and has received, in return, the blessing of the Gospel.

What follows concerning Ata has been derived entirely from modern Tongans, mostly former inhabitants of that island now residing in Eua Island, and also from Leha, the carpenter for Pangia, the last Tui Tonga's descendant.

The Tongan name is really 'Ata, which means reflection. Ata is the title of a great chief, which means dawn. Another name is Atā, which is the name of the island close to Tongatabu. This name means more room, expanding, and evidently has reference to the mythical origin of this island, which is believed to have arisen spontaneously from the depths of the sea and to be the first island of the Tongan archipelago to appear above the face of the waters.

Ata is a very steep, volcanic island. The anchorage is on the west side of the island and from the beach a trail leads upward. There was but one town on Ata and it was called Kolomaila, literally Myrtle town. It was divided into three sections: Hihifo (the west end), Auloto, and Pea. Pea was apparently named after the village of Pea in Tongatabu. The reason for so believing will appear later when I recount the story of the visit from the god of Pea to Ata. The people of Ata did not live on their farms as did Tongans elsewhere but lived together in the town. Each of these three divisions of the town had a district of its own for farming. Whether or not each district was divided into individual family holdings could not be determined.

The traditional discovery of Ata is attributed to the diviner Hama (16, p. 52). Apparently some time later the island was visited by a man named Motuapuaka, who eloped to Ata with the Tui Tonga's daughter named Tapuosi. Motuapuaka is said to have earlier sighted the island while fishing for bonito, so when he eloped with Tapuosi he headed for the island as a likely place of refuge from the wrath of the Tui Tonga. According to two informants from Ata there were already aborigines upon the island when Motuapuaka and Tapuosi arrived. The details of their adventures upon arriving at Ata were related by Tupoua'a, a descendant of the principal chief of the island, the Tui Ata. According to one informant there

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wished that some one would take her daughter away on a voyage as⁴⁸⁴
the daughter was the recipient of unwelcome attention from Teukava, one¹⁷³
of the sons of the great chief Ata. Teukava had ordered the girl brought¹⁶⁶
to an entertainment (*katoanga sike*), at which he forced the girls to appear
naked so that he might review them and decide which he desired. Latuhehea,
at her mother's wish, was taken away by the people of the island of Atata.
They took her to Ata. The Atata people also settled on Ata, presumably to
avoid Teukava's vengeance. The Houma people, themselves, could not take
Latuhehea away from Tongatabu because being inland people they knew
neither how to navigate nor to paddle and had no vessels of their own.
Whether or not Motuapuaka and Tapuosi were already dead when Latu-
hehea and the Atata people came is not clear. West (62) assigns the flight^[26]
of the Atata people to Ata to desire to escape the raids of a cannibal who
dwelt on Nomuka Island, Haapai.

From Motuapuaka and Tapuosi to the informant James Tupouata (a¹⁶²
man of seventy years of age in 1920) was five generations. Table 15,^[124]
(in pocket) shows seven generations of people who resided on or were born
in Ata. One hundred and fifty-one of the 163 people listed by me in a
census of Ata inhabitants are included in this genealogy. The genealogical^[124]
evidence seems to point to the middle of the eighteenth century as the prob-
able time of arrival of Motuapuaka and Tapuosi. The earlier growth of the⁵⁸²
population was largely through cross-cousin marriages, as there were but
few accretions to the population from without. No doubt cross-cousin mar-^[565]
riage was practiced to a far greater extent than in the general rank and file^[184]
of the Tongan population, among whom such marriages were regarded as a
chiefly prerogative, not to be exercised by commoners. Marriages to rela-
tives as shown by the Ata genealogy (Table 15) were as follows:

- 10-11: Man to mother's father's sister.
- 14-15: Man to father's sister's daughter.
- 19-20: Man to father's sister's daughter.
- 21-22: Man to father's sister's daughter.
- 21-24: Man to father's sister's daughter.
- 25-26: Man to father's sister's daughter.
- 27-28: Man to father's sister's daughter.
- 29-30: Man to mother's brother's daughter.
- 34-35: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
- 39-40: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
- 41-42: Man to mother's brother's son's daughter.
- 43-44: Man to mother's father's sister's son's daughter.
- 48-49: Man to mother's father's son's daughter.
- 36-38: Man to mother's brother's daughter's daughter.
- 57-58: Man to mother's sister's daughter's daughter.
- 70-71: Man to mother's sister's daughter.
- 73-74: Man to mother's paternal half sister's daughter.
- 92-93: Man to father's father's daughter's daughter's daughter.
- 94-95: Man to father's paternal half sister's son's daughter.

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that the two deities may be connected or perhaps identical. This opinion 776 was expressed by the informant Rose Fatafehi, the son's daughter of the Tui Tonga Laufilitonga.

A purely local deity is a cannibal god reputed to have dwelt in a cave 266 called Anapoutaha, near Maufanga, Tongatabu.

DEITIES OF EUA ISLAND

The following scraps of information which were received about the deities of Eua Island supplement the information Collocott has already presented:

Although there is a certain amount of localization of gods in Eua, there seem not to have been gods for each district. The god or goddess Tafakula seems to have been generally worshipped and was appealed to for favorable seasons for the crops. The origin of this deity is set forth by Collocott (9, pp. 236, 237). He regards the deity as a female. A modern Eua informant 825 knew of no sacred animal for Tafakula; she manifested herself only through 793 a priest. Reference is often made to Tafakula in the stories concerning the origin of geographic features (2c, p. 88). Connected with this deity was a 823 great axe-shaped rock in Eua called Kitekihaamoa (visible to Samoa). The 776 Samoans are said to have been displeased at the visibility of this rock from 173 their country so they came and burnt it, and it fell down in strata from which 823 it was easy for people to take pieces from which to make axes. The base of this rock is said to be still visible on the weather shore of Eua and is called Toa Makahunu. It is said to vary in color, being in part white, yellow, red, and black. Tafakula was also known in Haapai and Vavau. 776

Another deity of Eua Island was Lefelegevalu whose house stood on a mound beside the road from Tufuvai to Haatua. The mound is said to be 776 the goddess transformed. She was a *taupo* (virgin). Two lovers (*manaia*) 773 tried to approach her during the night but were unable to reach her before 823 daybreak, and were transformed into two smaller mounds which are to be seen to-day on the ridge back of the mound Lefelegevalu. The two lovers were called Ponahiva and Fasikiato, names which are applied to the two mounds. It is said that dawn broke when the two had reached the tract called Fakaahuahu (near the present race course).

Ko Ponahiva mo Fasikiato,
Lefelegevalu tu'u mei lalo.
Ko Kopoka api kou kumia ngako,

Tapuhia moe luo ki toke,

Kokafa e api kai tole.

Here are Ponahiva and Fasikiato,
Lefelegevalu stands below.
Kopoka is the tract where is eaten the fat
rat,
Tapuhia is the place of the hole of the
eel,
Kokafa is the tract where vagina is eaten.

[539]

The names Lefelegevalu and Ponahiva are said to refer respectively to eight female organs and nine male organs.

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told the people that the gods wished pigs and other food, and when they saw the priest shaking they knew the god wanted something. There is no descendant of the present Toke living in Moungaone to-day. Kava Moungaone is the chief of Moungaone, and the two gods were his patrons. [776] [787] [793]

A third deity of Moungaone was the fish god Fakapatu (26, p. 81).

DEITIES OF NOMUKA ISLAND

Folautaoi was a god of Nomuka living in a hill called Fungaholu. The people prayed to this god and if anyone was sick, a person of his family sacrificed a little finger to the god. If a boat came from another place and then wanted to return but could not because of strong wind, the people thought it was because the god was living in the top of the mast of the vessel. The mast was then taken down, when the wind quieted and the sea became smooth, so that they had a good day to go, the mast was set up again. In the hill is a big hole with many human bones. It is thought that Folautaoi lived in this hole and ate men. The "boat" of the god was the *kakafatu*, a shellfish which is not eaten by the people. [782] [755] [776] [821] [805]

Fehuluni, a deity who appears in various parts of the kingdom, is a frequenter of Nomuka especially (p. 292). [776] [784] [782]

DEITIES OF UIHA ISLAND

Of the several deities of Uiha concerning whom I obtained information, Hikuleo (p. 292) and Tokeimoana (9, p. 234) have been to some extent described. Tokeimoana (Eel-in-the-ocean) became incarnate in the eel, as his name implies. [825]

Tokeimoana's house, called Hakaumama (Reef-of-the-world), was in the bush on a tract called Fongolongo. A priest named Hakaumama lived there and was fed there and told the people whatever the god wanted. Sometimes the priest would say to the people, "The god has arrived and is desirous of dining on pork." Thereupon the people would bake a pig and give it to him. Or he would demand some tapa; whereupon they would cut off a piece and give it to him. [778] [776] [793]

When there was any sickness, a healthy man or woman was brought to the priest to have a little finger amputated and taken to the god's house and offered as a sacrifice. The person selected was a child of the sick person's mother's brother (*tuasina*), in other words, an inferior cross-cousin. Some of the sick got well. [776] [755] [605]

Taufaahau (afterwards King George I) and his family bowed down before the god Tokeimoana. They were forbidden to eat sea eel, but the people who were not worshippers might eat it. The people who worshipped this god had to lie exposed on the spot where the eel had been broiled or baked even if the fire was still burning. If they knew it was the place where their "god" had been killed they would go off in another direction so as to avoid coming close to it. Whenever the eel in which the god was incarnate crawled about on dry land, the people assembled at the god's house and talked to it and when it returned to the water they left. [776] [784] [762] [785] [825]

Haveakai was another Uiha god but was worshipped only at Felemea. The priests of this god, after conversion to Christianity, bore the name Malakai. I could not learn the Tongan name. The priest is said to have manifested the usual trembling when the god entered him. People near death were brought to him and finger sacrifices offered by some one of the sick person's relatives. So far as I can learn the operation of cutting off a finger joint was never performed by the priest himself, but always by one of the supplicants. The informant did not know what animal constituted the "boat" of the god. Offerings of food brought by the people to this god would be completely consumed by Malakai, if he were inspired, or as the Tongan informant put it, he could [776] [793] [787] [782] [304]

Tapueluelu knew but little. He said that the people of the lineage Haa⁷⁷⁶ Ngata Tupu worshipped Fakailoatonga. He said that commoners of the⁵⁶⁵ lineage, as well as a great chief like Ulukalala, paid their addresses to this⁶¹³ deity. The chief Luani worshipped Tui Haa Fakafanua and the chief Tui Lakepa presumably worshipped Taliai Tupou.

Alomafao was a Samoan god whose favorite diet consisted of the inhabi-⁷⁷⁶ tants of Tonga. In a great battle with the son of a Tui Haa Takalaua this⁶⁴⁸ god was killed and in turn was eaten by the chief and his followers. The²⁶⁶ oven where he was cooked may still be seen near Utungake, Utungake Island, Vavau.

DEITIES OF NIUATOPUTAPU

The most famous deity in Niuatoputapu is Seketoa (26, p. 83), a god⁷⁷⁶ who manifests himself in the form of a fish, and according to many ac-⁸²⁵ counts is still seen to-day. It is said that Maatu, the chief of Niuatoputapu can call Seketoa when at sea (16, p. 56). Not only do natives report the appearance of the fish who is supposed to embody the god, but many white people have seen the creature. The two following accounts were given by Catholic priests. The first was written in September, 1917, by Father J. B. Mace, S. M.

At the time of my last visit to Niuatoputapu, in June last, it was my good fortune, an exceedingly rare one, to get acquainted with a Tongan divinity, a fish called Seketoa. Here is its origin.

Seketoa was a chief of Niuatoputapu, who was to become Maatu, that is king.⁷⁷⁶ On that account one of the influential families, Haaila, had conceived a mortal hatred⁸²⁵ of him, and resolved that he should not be king. Now it happened that a member of that family, Tupa by name, went out to gather shellfish, which he allowed to rot. He⁷⁷³ did that because the younger brother of Seketoa suffered from elephantiasis and an-⁶⁴⁴ other contagious skin disease.

One evening he rubbed his legs with the decayed shellfish and at night went on⁷⁵⁷ to the hut where Seketoa slept. Seketoa awoke and thought it was his brother who had entered. So he said, "Why have you come to me? Do you not know that your disease is contagious? And would you communicate it to me?" But the other, who was armed with an iron-wood lance, made no answer, but pierced Seketoa through and fled. Seketoa rose, but was unable to extract the wood which had broken close to the wound. He therefore went to the neighboring hut where the women were and asked them to bring out a light. He was then able to draw out the end of the lance.

Then, having called his brother to him, the very one who was infected with the contagious disease, he said to him: "My will is that you become king of this island; as for me, I shall go to the sea to succor my brothers in distress." And at his bidding he was wrapped over in coconut leaves and cast into the sea.

The brother of Seketoa became Maatu, that is king of Niuatoputapu. He communicated his⁵⁵³ disease to his subjects. And since that time a large proportion of the people are⁶⁴⁴ afflicted with elephantiasis and other skin diseases.

After being cast into the sea, Seketoa transformed himself into a fish whose color and dimensions it is impossible to determine. His peculiarity lies precisely in this, that he assumes an infinite variety of sizes and colors, sometimes suddenly. The mark by which he is recognized is the scar he bears in his side. Sometimes, though seldom,

mentions strangling as a form of suicide preceding the custom of dismembering. Some wives of the Tui Kanokupolu were strangled at their lord's death (See p. 90.). Mariner relates how his patron Ulukalala II insisted that his daughter, a widow of the Tui Tonga Fuanunuiava, be spared. It seems doubtful if the *moheofo*, or chief wife of the Tui Tonga, was strangled. Tupoumoheofo, widow of the Tui Tonga Pau, certainly was not strangled. The Female Tui Tonga was not strangled at the death of her brother the male Tui Tonga, because she was his superior in rank.

Cremation alive of commoners captured in war is attributed to an early Vahai chief of the Hihifo district, Tongatabu, and is said to have taken place before 1799. The victims were not eaten. The place where the cremation is reputed to have taken place is still called Umutangata (Oven-of-man).

The *fakafeao* was a man imprisoned alive and left to die in the vault with a deceased Tui Tonga, or some member of the Tui Tonga family. When one of the Tui Tonga family was buried, many presents were brought by all of the chiefs of Tonga. These were interred in the vault with his body. The *matapule* acting as undertaker (*haatufunga*) was the only living person permitted to enter the vault and come out of it alive. His duty was to place the gifts, as well as properly to dispose of the lowered body. The ranking chief presiding over the funeral affairs would direct his *matapule* to bring one or two men (commoners) to act as *fakafeao*. Such a man was forced to enter the vault and sit in a corner, and the stone cover was lowered into place and the grave mound erected over it. Or the cover might be suddenly lowered at the command of the presiding chief while the *haatufunga* was still within the vault arranging the gift materials, trapping him to serve the interred as *fakafeao*.

I have a note from the venerable Tamale concerning the painting of the *fakafeao's* head with turmeric, which gave rise to the descriptive designation of *uluvali* (painted head) for such doomed individuals. Tamale said that the victims were selected from the Tui Tonga's mother's family, in other words, from the standpoint of the Tui Tonga, from the inferior side of his family. This note may refer to the *fakafeao*, or to other individuals sacrificed at a Tui Tonga's burial besides those interred alive. The term *fakafeao* also applies to the bodies of *matapule* or other retainers buried at the time of natural death in the earth of the mound outside of the great stone vault.

Perhaps a rationalization is the statement that to have opened the vault once closed would have been to imperil the life of the new Tui Tonga, for the vault was opened only to receive the dead, and the opening up again would be to receive the body of the new Tui Tonga. Hence arises the saying, "Pulu hoo tuku" (Go easy with your letting down). The *haatufunga*

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726 Tonga chief under the same circumstances: they immediately engaged with their clubs; one however being soon disarmed, and the other having broken his club, they fought a long time with their fists; and when they were so weak that they could not strike, they grappled with each other, and both fell to the ground exhausted with fatigue: the Tonga chief, incapable of injuring his antagonist in any other way, got his fingers into his mouth, and gnawed them dreadfully: after having thus laid for a long time looking at each other, they gathered a little fresh strength, and by mutual agreement each crawled home to his respective fort.

The Hapai men, on their way back to Nioocalofa, found several of their friends in different parts of the road, who were unable to proceed on account of their wounds. But they were too weak themselves to carry them, and were obliged to leave them to the mercy of the enemy. They at length arrived at the *colo*, tired and fatigued beyond conception, with about fifteen prisoners.

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● 726 The following day, some of the younger chiefs, who had contracted the Fiji habits, proposed to kill the prisoners, lest they should
[177] make their escape, and then to roast and eat
[724] them. This proposal was readily agreed to, by

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some, because they liked this sort of diet, and⁶⁶⁹
by others because they wanted to try it, think-²⁶⁶
ing it a manly and warlike habit : there was also⁷²⁷
another motive, viz. a great scarcity of provi-^[124]
sions ; for some canoes which had been sent to
the Hapai islands in quest of provisions were
unaccountably detained, and the garrison was
already threatened with distress. Some of the^[252]
prisoners were soon dispatched : their flesh was
cut up into small portions, washed with sea-
water, wrapped up in plantain leaves, and roast-
ed under hot stones : two or three were embow-
elled and baked whole the same as a pig *. Mr.
Mariner was not tempted to partake of this
kind of diet, though the smell of it, when cook-
ed, was exceedingly delicious. A few days now^[724]
elapsed without any signs of the canoes from
Hapai, and the distress of those who did not
choose to eat human flesh was very great. Mr.
Mariner had been two days and a half without
eating any thing ; when, passing by a house
where they were cooking something, he walked
in, with the pleasing hope of getting something
that his stomach would bear, if it were only a
piece of a rat ; on enquiry, he was told, they
had got some pork, and a man offered him a
piece of liver, which he eagerly accepted, and

* For their different methods of cooking, reference must be made to the second volume of the work.

669 was raising to his mouth, when he saw, by the
 266 smile on the countenance of the man, that it
 727 was human liver; overcome by disgust, he
 threw it in the man's face, who only laughed,
 and asked him if it were not better to eat good
 meat than die of hunger.

175 When Captain Cook visited these islands,
 266 cannibalism was scarcely thought of amongst
 261 them: but the Fiji people soon taught them
 [177] this, as well as the art of war; and a famine,
 [731] which happened some time afterwards, render-
 ed the expedient for a time almost necessary.
 On this occasion they way-laid and murdered
 one another to supply themselves with food;
 and they still tell an anecdote of four brothers,
 who, in this time of scarcity, invited their aunt
 to come and partake of a large yam, which they
 said they had secretly procured: the poor wo-
 man, glad of the idea of getting something
 to eat, and pleased with the kindness of her
 nephews, went to their house, where they soon
 dispatched her, and she herself formed the ma-
 [525] terials of a repast. Since that period, there
 was a great scarcity at one of the for-
 tresses on the island of Tonga, called Nookoo
 Nookoo: two daughters of a chief of this place
 agreed to play at the game of lafo* against two

* This game will be described in the second volume of
 the work.

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young chiefs belonging to the same place, upon the following conditions: if the girls won the game, they were to divide a yam, which they had in their possession, and give half to the young chiefs; but if, on the contrary, these won the game, they were still to have half the yam, but were to go out and kill a man, and give half his body to the girls: the result was, that the latter won the game, and giving half their yam to the two chiefs, waited for the performance of their agreement. The two young men set out, under cover of the darkness of the night, and concealed themselves near an enemy's fortress. Early in the morning, a man came out of the fencing to fetch some salt water from the shore in cocoa-nut shells, which he carried with him for the purpose. When he approached the place where the two lay concealed, they started out upon him, killed him with their clubs, and, at the risk of their lives, brought his body to Nookoo Nookoo, where they divided it in half, and faithfully performed their promise with the young women.

It was more than a fortnight before the canoes returned from the Hapai islands with a supply of provisions, owing to the bad state of the weather. Shortly after, the garrison of Nookoo Nookoo sent to request leave to bury the dead bodies of their relations who had fallen

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The king and his army being arrived at their fortress, the sixty bodies were shared out to the different gods that had houses dedicated to them within the place. In performing this ceremony the people formed a large circle on the ground, with the king at the upper end. The bodies being placed in a row before Finow, a man rose up, and counting the bodies, declared aloud their number. The king then ordered that so many should be allotted to such a god, and so many to such another, and so of the rest. The names of these gods were Tali y Toobo, Tooi foom Bolotoo, Lau file Tonga, Too- bo lalo Tonga, and Chenitacala: the two first only are imaginary beings, the others are souls of departed chiefs; the last of all is a goddess, the soul of a female chief of that name. This being done, the bodies were carried away, and laid before the houses of the different gods to whom they were allotted: where, after they had remained three or four hours, those who had left relations among the garrison of Neafoo were carried away and buried; and the remainder, which were only nine or ten in number, were conveyed to the water side, and there disposed of in different ways: two or three were hung up on a tree; a couple were burnt; three were cut open from motives of curiosity to see

669 whether their insides were sound and entire*,
 727 and to practise surgical operations upon, here-
 266 after to be described; and lastly, two or three
 766 were cut up to be cooked and eaten, of which
 763 about forty men partook. This was the second
 752 instance of cannibalism that Mr. Mariner wit-
 177 nessed, but the natives of these islands are not
 to be called cannibals on this account: so far
 from its being a general practice, it is on the
 contrary generally held in abhorrence, and
 where it is occasionally done, it is only by
 young warriors, who do it in imitation of the
 Fiji islanders, attaching to it an idea that
 there is something in it designating a fierce,
 warlike, and manly spirit. When they returned
 to Neafoo after their inhuman repast, most
 persons who knew it, particularly women,
 avoided them, saying, "Iá-whé moe ky-tanga-
 ta," away! you are a man-eater.

669 The bodies being thus all disposed of, Finow
 687 began to make enquiries respecting the alleged
 634 treason of Lioofau, and finding no one capable

784 * It is a firm belief with the people that if a man infringes
 827 upon the *Taboo* (see p. 141) or commits any sacrilege, his
 liver or some other viscus is liable to become enlarged and
 schirrous: they therefore often open dead bodies out of cu-
 riosity, to see if they have been sacrilegious in their lifetime.
 164 The natives of these islands are particularly subject to schir-
 rous tumours.

687 now, and all the chiefs of Hapai, cursing them
 763 in the most bitter manner *, and their fathers
 721 for begetting them, and heaping maledictions
 669 upon all their generation; he went on in this
 manner, cursing and swearing at his enemies,
 till the water came up to his mouth, and, even
 then, he actually threw back his head for the
 opportunity of uttering another curse, splutter-
 ing the water forth from his lips, till it bereft
 him for ever of the power of speech. They
 were about twenty minutes sinking, after which
 the large canoe returned immediately to Va-
 vaoo.

687 Booboonoo and Nowfaho were both men that
 157 bore a most amiable character: in time of war
 they were brave and enterprising; in time of
 peace, gentle and humane. The conduct of
 [682] Nowfaho, in killing the poor Hapai woman,
 [158] seems to make much against his humanity;

[195] * The curses used among the Tonga people are very num-
 [264] erous; but, for the most part, they are rather horrible
 [266] commands than curses, and are, generally, in regard to
 maltreating one's relations, or eating one's superior rela-
 tions; for it is considered a crime to eat food which a supe-
 rior relation has touched; how much more, therefore, to eat
 that relation himself! For a sample;—"Bake your grand-
 father till his skin turns to cracknel, and gnaw his skull for
 your share!"—"Go, and ravish your own sister!"—"Dig
 up your father by moonlight, and make soup of his bones,"
 &c. &c. Many of their sayings, in this way, are too indeli-
 cate to mention.

000 It may here be remarked, that cannibalism is more or less practised on all the Fiji islands, and has its origin, no doubt, in the constant wars in which the people are engaged: not that war among savage nations universally gives occasion to so horrid a custom, (for indeed we have many instances to the contrary;) but in those uncultivated nations, where a spirit of national hatred and thirst of revenge, on some extraordinary occasions, run very high, it appears to be an instinct of uncultivated nature, to crown the catastrophe by a feast at which civilized humanity revolts*, particularly where a scarcity of provisions exists at the same time.

[266] At the Fiji islands war and devastation are much
[171] more frequent than at the Tonga islands, consequently scarcity is also much more frequent,
[669] and cannibalism accordingly much more practised. The island of Navihi Levoo is more
[261] troubled by intestine war than the other Fiji

266 * Mr. Mariner had from good authority a circumstance that
578 may be mentioned here as illustrative of the point in question. A certain man at Tonga had a violent hatred to another, whom he sought an opportunity of killing in battle; at length he succeeded; and, cutting open the body, dissected off the
[829] liver, and took it home to his house. He tied the liver up in a piece of *gnatoo*, and whenever he wanted to drink water or cocoa-nut milk, he would dip it in, and then squeezing out some of the juice into his beverage, drink it off to satisfy his revenge: this fact was universally known and spoken of, but with much disgust. The cause of his enmity was the ill usage which his wife had received on being taken prisoner by the other. Mr. Mariner knew the man.

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islands, and the people are greater cannibals. 000
 At the Tonga islands in particular, it may be 171
 remarked, that the island of Tonga (properly so 266
 called) is constantly in a state of war, and 664
 scarcity consequently is much more common 261
 there than at Vavaoo and the Hapai islands, and
 cannibalism, therefore, much less shuddered at.
 At the island of Tonga, indeed, this inhuman
 habit is by no means so general as at the Fiji
 islands, but then it has not been the scene
 of warfare for more than about twenty years,
 whereas the latter nation has been familiar;
 more or less, with this scourge of the human
 race, from time immemorial.

Now we are upon this subject, we may men- 175
 tion, that at Tonga, the natives report that some 721
 time before Mr. Mariner's arrival among them, an
 European ship touched there, the boat of which,
 on landing near Mafanga, had a quarrel with
 some of the natives, in consequence of which,
 three of her crew were killed and dragged up
 the country. These the natives embowelled 175
 and dressed the same as pork, and several ate 727
 heartily of them; but shortly afterwards they 266
 were all taken very ill, being attacked with 165
 nausea and vomiting to a violent degree, and
 three of them actually died. Some of the na- 829
 tives attributed this circumstance to an un-
 wholesome quality in white man's flesh, others

175 to the superior power of the gods of England,
727 in the way of revenge for killing white men.
246 They were strongly corroborated in their opi-
829 nion of the superiority of the gods of England,
by the circumstance that almost every man who
829 had been actively concerned in the conspiracy
727 against the Port au Prince happened either to
[165] be killed in battle or to die of disease, during
the time Mr. Mariner remained at these islands;
and they would often question him whether it
were not owing to the interference of the En-
glish gods as a punishment; to which he al-
ways answered them in the affirmative, with a
view to his own safety, and to inspire them with
respect for the invisible powers, which, accord-
ing to their notions, presided over the welfare
of England and of Englishmen. Some of the
natives, in joke, used to say, that they would kill
Mr. Mariner, to see if the hotooas (gods) of
England would revenge his death, alleging their
disbelief in the unsolicited agency of the En-
glish hotooas, and their opinion rather that Mr.
Mariner himself had been the cause of their
death by his prayers, soliciting his gods to re-
[565] venge the death of his countrymen. This,
however, was a notion chiefly of the lower
orders: the higher classes were of opinion, that
the hotooas of England operated of their own
accord, without any intervention or prayer.

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gave him the watch-word, which he was unable to answer; instantly the Fiji warrior struck him so violent a blow on the head with his club, that he buried it in his brains: the club had got so locked into the broken skull, that he could not immediately withdraw it; and he probably would have left it there, but discovering what a great chief he had killed, his club from that moment became exceedingly valuable to him; the pledge as it were of future great successes, as long as he kept it in his possession: the triumph of his feelings, therefore, prevented him from seeing or hearing another man, who was fast approaching; and whilst he was in the act of disengaging his club, his own brains were knocked out, and his speculations as suddenly destroyed, by one of Teoo Cava's men, whose swiftness of foot brought him just in time to revenge his fallen chief, by laying his enemy prostrate by his side: but dangers were thickening round him, and he was compelled to leave the body of Teoo Cava on the field, and secure his own existence by a speedy flight to Hihifo; where all who succeeded in making their escape quickly arrived. The body of Teoo Cava was soon found by the enemy; it was conveyed to their fortress, cut to pieces, and (must it again be said!) dressed for food.

Among the garrison of Hihifo there was a

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in an elevated tone of voice, why they talked⁷²⁷ about the fear of chiefs; were they not his servants, and had he not a right to act with them as he pleased? He then took in his hand his musket from behind him, when the man who sat next immediately declared, that, if he made any resistance, he would die in opposing him, rather than allow him to escape: upon this, Mr. Mariner summoned up all his strength, and struck him a most violent blow, or rather stab, near the loins, with the muzzle of the piece, exclaiming at the same time, "*Ta gi ho Hotooa, co ho mate e**." This lunge produced a dangerous wound, for the musket, being a very old one, had grown quite sharp at the muzzle, and was, besides, impelled by the uncommon force with which, inspired by the prospect of escape, he felt himself animated: the man immediately fell flat in the bottom of the canoe, senseless, and scarcely with a groan†. Mr. Mariner in-

* Meaning, literally, "Strike your Hotooa, there's your^[195] "death!" which are forms of energetic expressions, used like oaths, on extraordinary occasions, calculated to express vengeance.

† This man, whose name was Teoo Fononga, well deserved the fate he met with: he used to beat his wife unmercifully, for which Mr. Mariner had frequently knocked him down with a club: he formerly had a wife who, in time of scarcity, he killed and ate: since that time having several children, more than he wished, he killed a couple of them to get them out of the way. His best qualities were being an excellent fisherman, and a very hard-working fellow.^{[593] [266] [761]}

114 vented him from going on shore so often, or so far, as he otherwise might have done. He was
171 curious to discover what opinion they had of
[829] the natives of Tonga, and found, uniformly, that they considered the latter to be a very treacherous race; whilst these, as already related, accuse the Fiji people of possessing the same bad character; but, in all probability, there is not much difference between them in
[726] this respect. From all that he has seen, and all
[727] that he has heard, however, he is disposed to believe that the Fiji people fight with more fury and animosity than the Tonga people, but that the latter, where they have been seriously injured, harbour sentiments of revenge for a longer time. Mr. Mariner witnessed no instance of cannibalism among them, but they made no
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266 scruple to acknowledge that such instances were very frequent, and Cow Moōala's account of the feast of Chichia, where two hundred human bodies were served up, was confirmed by the report of several of the natives of Pau, who were not, indeed, present, but who spoke of it with much indifference, as having heard it often from those who were present, and as being a thing so likely, that there was no reason to doubt it. He had it also confirmed by a native of Tonga, resident at Pau, who acted as his interpreter, and

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who was present at this horrible feast. The ¹⁷¹ language of these people is very different in ²⁶⁶ sound from the Tonga language, and is much more harsh to pronounce; it is replete with ¹⁹⁷ very strong percussions of the tongue, and with a frequent rattling of the letter *r*. It is rather a curious fact, if true, and it appears to be so from all that we can learn, that the language of the Sandwich islanders is more similar to the Tonga language than that of the Fiji islanders, though the latter people are not more than about one ninth part of the distance of the Sandwich islands from Tonga.

There were several Englishmen (or Americans) ⁰⁰⁰ at the island of Pau, but none of them wished to come away in the Favourite, except one; but as Captain Fisk had already more hands on board than he wanted, and as this man was not thrown accidentally (by shipwreck or otherwise) among these people, but had left his ship voluntarily, the captain did not choose to take him. It is much to be regretted that most of these men were, from all report, but indifferent characters, and had left their respective ships from no good motive: they had frequent quarrels among themselves, in which two or three had got murdered. Mr. Mariner's information upon this point is from Fiji natives who visited Tonga, and also, since he has been

181 say, that the natives of these islands are rather
831 to be considered a chaste than a libertine people,
171 and that, even compared with the most civilized
nations, their character in this respect is to be
rated at no mean height; and if a free inter-
course could exist with European society, it is
a matter of great doubt (whatever might be the
change in their sentiments), if their habits or
dispositions in this respect would be much im-
proved by copying the examples of their in-
structors. If, on the other hand, we compare
them to the natives of the Society islands, and
the Sandwich islands, we should add insult to
injustice.

128 We have thus endeavoured to give a just and
impartial view of these people, as far as regards
their notions and practices of the most import-
ant points of morality, trusting that the ac-
count will be found useful and interesting. A
great deal more might, no doubt, have been
said; but the farther we enter into minutiae
upon such a subject, the more we are likely to
form an erroneous opinion; whilst the general
outlines may be given without so much danger
of being deceived; and what may be thought
imperfect in this sketch, the intelligent reader
will be able to supply according to his own
judgment, by his attentive perusal of other
[266] parts of the work. If, for instance, it be ob-

3: Mariner F-5 (1806-1810) 1818

OU9 Tonga OU9

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jected that we have not taken into consideration
the question of their being anthropophagi, we
reply, that all the instances that can any way
go to substantiate their character in this respect,
and which happened during Mr. Mariner's stay
there, have been faithfully mentioned, with the
motives and occasions of them: from which,
we think it is easy to draw the conclusion, that
they by no means deserve this opprobrious
name: for, although a few young ferocious
warriors chose to imitate what they considered
a mark of courageous fierceness in a neighbour-
ing nation, it was held in disgust by every body
else.

599 well was covered, and sit at the water's edge, watching the man at his
 829 work. One day the man noticed the spirit, and approached the well, but
 779 as he drew near the spirit disappeared into the water, and covered it with
 the rock. The man returned to his work, but presently he saw the spirit
 again sitting at the water's edge. He approached, but once more the
 spirit eluded him. This happened three times, and so the man knew that
 the stranger was a spirit. Then he took off his turban and girdle of
 leaves, and put them on a tree to make it look like a man, while he crept
 round to the place toward which the spirit had turned his back as he sat
 by the water. Presently the spirit came to view again, and the man
 sprang upon him, and held him fast until he begged for mercy, and
 promised to give the man his well. Since then the well has been un-
 covered, and the stone with which it was covered is still left lying beside it.

THE CAVE TAPINGAAMAMA

539 Tapingaamama (Human affairs, manners) is the name of a cave, in
 829 Tefisi in Vavau, through the walls of which there is considerable soakage.
 779 Two spirits, or demons (*tevolo*) live there, one being a *toke* (eel). A
 825 stranger once left his *vola* (kilt) in the cave while he went to bathe, and
 1029 when he came back he found the *vola* folded up with a rat inside it. The
 269 rat also was a *tevolo*, presumably the second spirit of the cave. Many
 people are said to have been lost through the cannibals who lived there.

RELATIONS WITH PULOTU

ROAD TO PULOTU

775 Gifford (22, p. 153), has published a number of stories relating to
 journeys to Pulotu, abode of Hikuleo and of the souls of chiefs, an island
 somewhere out to the northwest, in which are Pukolea (Speaking-
 puko-tree) able to confer limitless favors, and the Vaiola (Water of life),
 into which it would seem that the souls of the dead were plunged, rising
 thence with eternal freshness and vigor. But, besides the far-off mystical
 island, there is another Pulotu, the Underworld, which is reached by jump-
 1829 ing into a crevice, or into the sea. Several localities are mentioned as
 Hala ki Pulotu (Road to Pulotu) which, like the jumping-off places of
 souls throughout so large a part of Polynesia, have a general westerly or
 599 northerly outlook.¹ In the first and sixth of the stories that follow, the
 779 hero plucks up a reed (*kaho*) with which the entrance of the road to
 775 Pulotu is closed. This detail of the reed is found in the story of the
 824 visits of Maui Atalanga and his son, Maui Kisikisi, to the Underworld,
 Lolofonua, during the time that they were living in Koloa, one of the

539 Pea pehe atu leva te taulua matua, "Koeni kua ka la iloa." Pea toki tangi
798 mai leva te taahine mei tua—ka ko te hingoa o te taulua matua ko Kuku mo
Kukue,

E Kuku mo Kukue
Veveli veveli te kolua ngoue,
Kolua o mai kuou mate;
Kua te leleo mo Kulufau,
Foafoa kofe mo auau,
Ne lau eau ko toku fakangakau;

Toku ulu ena i te tefitofai-fau,
Toku kongaloto i te vao-tamanu,
Toku tenga i te lu a Kulufau,
Toku ngakau tanu i te tafu,
Toku toto i te lalo tapakau,
Toku kofetafa i te nifoi-au.

Pea toki ita leva te taulua matua; "Ta, ko te tamasii fakapo eni; tau hanga o tamatei ia Hina." Pea loi atu leva te tamasii, "Oku ka lau iloi ia au." Pea hanga leva te taulua matua o tamatei ia Kulufau, o tao, o fakaafu leva te kongaumumu, pea toki tafa leva a Kulufau, o tao o ai, o kai e te taulua matua.

KULUFAU AND HINA

There was once a married couple, Kuku and Kukue, to whom was born a boy, named Kulufau. Afterwards a girl was born, and named Hina. Time went on, and it happened one day that the parents went inland to do their work, and weed their garden. When their work was finished they went down home, and the girl could not be found, because her brother had killed her. They asked Kulufau where Hina was, but he replied that he did not know, "she was yonder combing her hair, while I was cooking food." And the parents told him that she had disappeared. Then the girl cried from outside—now the names of the parents were Kuku and Kukue—

Ah Kuku and Kukue,
You were busily tending your garden,
You have returned, I am dead;
I stayed at home with Kulufau,
He split bamboo and sharpened it,
I guessed to disembowel me.
My head is yonder by the root of the fau,

The middle of my body in the clump of
tamanu,
My thigh in the cooked leaves of Kulu-
fau,
My bowels are buried in the hole,
My blood beneath the floor-mats,
My bamboo-knife in the roof-tenon.

Then were the parents angry. "This indeed is a murderous boy; thou hast gone and slain Hina."

And the boy lied, "I know nothing about it." And the parents slew
[266] Kulufau. They heated the oven, and cut up Kulufau, and baked him, and put him before them; and the parents ate him.

- 539 69. **Paki ua uli taki taha vau:** Break in two—dirty. Each one
252 scrape.
264

Refers directly to food such as the yam which has been baked in the embers. Ordinarily the yam, for instance, when taken from the fire would first be scraped clean and then divided among those who are to eat it. This indicates that there must be haste. The yam taken from the fire is to be divided while the charred outside skin is still on, and each one will clean his piece for himself. One of the commonest motives urging to such haste would seem to be the apprehension that an unwelcome visitor will soon be coming to share in the meal. Generally of that which is to be done quickly.

- 539 70. **Poto hono fijifiji kae vale hono fokifokihi:** Skilled at its flip-
252 ping but unskilled at its turning.

The Tongans flip cooking food with the nail of the fore-finger to test whether it is done or not. Food being cooked in the embers must be turned from time to time. The phrase indicates a man who does none of the work, is not willing to give the food a turn now and again, but is to the fore when it comes to finding out whether it is done or not. Obvious application to a lazy, greedy person.

- 539 71. **Talia a umu kape:** Waiting for a meal of *kape* (*Arum costatum*).
262
[137]

At certain stages of its growth the *kape* is too pungent to be eaten. Hungry men, therefore, may wait for a meal of this root to be cooked only to find after all that they cannot eat it. So the expression is used of disappointed expectation.

- 539 72. **Teka a ma momoko:** Chucking cold *ma* about.
252

Ma, applied now to European bread, is the fermented fruit of certain plants, most commonly of the breadfruit, prepared by burying it in pits. This method of treatment, which is falling into almost complete disuse, was a very common and successful way of preserving a supply of food. Not only was the uncooked food thus kept for an indefinite length of time, but when cooked it remained good for a long period. One could throw it about anyhow and it still turned up good when wanted again. So of anything which, in spite of hard usage, is still good when wanted.

- 539 73. **Toki kovi a niu lelei:** Good nut is just bad.
262
252

Coconut is much used and highly esteemed in Tongan cookery. An article of food which cannot be rendered palatable by coconut must be very bad indeed. The upshot of cooking such a hopelessly unpalatable article with nut is that so much good coconut is merely wasted. Generally of that which is so extremely bad that contact with what is good cannot improve it, but the whole lot is wasted and spoiled.

A story connected with this phrase is that the notorious cannibal Kaifakaau, who was alive at the time of the introduction of Christianity, once tried the experiment of cooking the genital organs of a woman with

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coconut, but found that he had produced a most unsavory dish and had to throw it all away. He had merely wasted so much good coconut. 539
262
252
266

74. Ua ji ua pooi: Eating ji eating pooi.

The *pooi* is a preparation of food, which before the introduction of sugar used to be sweetened with the root of the *ji* (*Cordyline terminalis*). If one ate up the *ji* beforehand he would have to go without the *pooi*. You cannot eat your cake and have it. 539
262
263

75. Umu toona e he vale: Food cooked by the fool.

Good food that has been spoiled by a bad cook; anything good that has been spoiled by bad treatment. 539
252

EATING AND DRINKING

76. Aho kai fonu: Day on which turtle is eaten.

The turtle is a luxury, hence day of treat. It is said that this expression originated with a love adventure of the handsome Lepuha, who lived at Leimatua in Vavau. This good-looking and amorous gentleman came in his wanderings to the house of a woman who lived at the back part of the island, and whose face was disfigured by ulceration. Lepuha had intercourse with the unfortunate woman, who said to him as he was about to depart, "This is a day on which turtle has been eaten." Lepuha ungallantly replied, "*Mavae lua*," that is, "Going away and vomiting," implying the disgust which he felt at having cohabited with so grievously disfigured a woman. This phrase, *Mavae lua*, is used proverbially for the after disgust one may feel at something he has done. 539
262

77. Mavae lua: Separating (and) vomiting. (See No. 76.)

78. Fakahali a vale: Making slip of foolish, that is, the foolish person's way of making food slip down.

Fakahali, making slide, means moderate eating, but the moderation of a foolish person, or of the improvident young, is to eat to repletion without a thought for the future or for anyone who may go hungry just beside him. Applied to eating the expression means to attend only to one's own appetite without regard for others or for the future. Used generally of improvident, foolish conduct, as of a man who is not a sailor going out by himself in a boat or of one who is not a carpenter undertaking to build a house. 539
264
183

79. Fakaua mea melie: Hungry for sweet things.

Baker renders: "To wish to eat sweet or superior food only." It might be used of one who desires only the good things of life.

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103

canoes used to go there for fishing. The expression is used generally of a long voyage to reach a reef. 539
823

349. **Manako maka fai ki Tofua:** Wishing for rock in Tofua. 539

Volcanic stones and pebbles from Tofua are highly valued for several purposes, but Tofua is far from most of the inhabited islands, the anchorage is bad, and contrary winds are frequently met with, especially in returning. Wishing for stones from Tofua, therefore, is to desire something that is worth having but difficult to obtain. 823
183

350. **Taka Haapai tae i Tofua:** Going about Haapai without being in Tofua. 539
823
484

The meaning of this is similar to that of No. 335, the volcanic mountain of Tofua being as inconveniently situated with respect to the main portion of the Haapai group as Eua is with respect to Tongatabu. (See also No. 332.)

VAVAU AND NIUA FOOU

[Vavau is the most northerly of the Tonga Islands with the exception of the outlying islands of Niua Tobutabu and Niua Foon. Vavau is high and picturesque and possesses an exceedingly fine harbor. Niua Foon is about midway between Vavau and Samoa.] 531
133

351. **Kai pe e Ngaunoho ae fua o enau gaue kovi:** Ngaunoho is merely eating the fruit of its ill deed. 539
823

As a proverb this is one of the many expressions found scattered throughout the world which warn erring mortals that they must reap as they sow. Ngaunoho is a village in Vavau, and is said to have been once a flourishing place but to have fallen from its old prosperity through having offended its chief. Its present decrepitude is the fruit that it has to bite on. 622
626
829

352. **Taka Haafuluhao tae i Poujini:** Going about in Haafuluhao without being in Poujini. 539
823

Haafuluhao is a common name for Vavau, the northern part of the Tonga Islands. Poujini is a small islet near Haalaufuli in Vavau which is not often visited. This is similar to Nos. 335 and 350.

353. **Tala kei i Kapa:** Tell still in Kapa.

Kapa is an island in Vavau, lying close to the island of Mala. The route from Kapa to the mainland lies through Mala, where once dwelt a formidable cannibal man or demi-god. Warnings should be given or preparations made in Kapa before passing on to Mala, where one was in deadly peril. Used generally of taking time by the forelock, making all preparations to meet danger before one is actually involved in it. 539
776
266
183

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554. *Fele a toua*: *Toua* is widely scattered, that is, a multitude in the *toua*. 539
276
554

The *toua* (pronounced to-wa) are those who sit where the kava is prepared in a kava ceremony; they are, for the most part, people of no rank and do not drink the kava, that privilege being reserved for their superiors in the *alo*, or chiefly circle. This expression then indicates a big crowd of people who do not count for much.

555. *Fufu mo kokohu*: Clapping (the hollowed hands) and dust rising. 539
276

When there is a shortage of kava the people are constrained to use the little rootlets projecting from the thick part of the main root which in times of plenty they would throw away. To cleanse these rootlets of adhering earth they are rubbed in the hands, then held in the hollow of one hand while the other hand is beaten down on top of them, thus causing dust to arise. This expression is used in a deprecating way by a man who has only a small piece of kava to offer to his friends, and indicates that with this small piece he is completely at the end of his resources.

556. *Molumalu faka-fono*: Good appearances, *fono* fashion.

The *fono* is the food served with the kava. The distribution of food with kava is frequently a mere formality to comply with ceremonial requirements, and the little food given out is seldom eaten. The phrase indicates therefore appearances that are only appearances without any solid backing of substance. [264] [576]

557. *Nofu e fononga kae eke kava*: The visitors having no share, but asking for kava; or perhaps more intelligibly, asking for kava, but the visitors having no share in it (literally, the visitors sitting, that is, just sitting quiet without part or lot in what is going on). 539
276
574

If guests arrive at one's house it is proper to prepare kava to greet them. This phrase indicates one who should ask for and obtain kava but then takes it off and uses it for some other purpose, neglecting the obvious duty of polite hospitality of preparing the beverage to greet his visitors.

WAR

558. *Fakalali pakola*: Like drum of prisoners of war, that is, the peculiar beating of the drum indicating that prisoners had been taken. 539
727
266

Cannibalism was only sporadic in Tonga, and never widespread. The word *pakola* is of Fijian introduction, and in Fiji indicated prisoners of war designed for the oven. Baker considers it an introduced word from Fiji, used in a low way for "Die, you wretches." In Fiji, therefore, the *pakola* drum would seem to indicate that the butcher was about to call, but such a meaning can never have been general in Tonga. [177] [192]

175 chiefs, had escaped to the sea-shore ; where, it was
669 supposed, they had concealed themselves among
726 the rocks.

726 After the engagement, our victorious troops
727 took the bodies of their slain enemies, dragged them
[172] to the sea-shore, and after inflicting every brutal
[266] insult of savage cruelty, roasted and ate them :
thinking it a just revenge on their enemies to devour
them. In the midst of their savage repast, they
were surprised by the appearance of the enemy ;
but they were so voraciously hungry, that their own
safety did not avail to make them stand on their de-
fence in time to resist them. The enemy therefore
threw us into confusion. We fled to the canoes
with precipitation ; some of which were nearly sunk
by numbers. Many did not reach them ere they
had put off from shore, and fell a sacrifice to the
foe. One canoe filled with men and women was
stranded. The chief of it determined to defend it
to the last ; and menaced, and defied the enemy.
But one of them stole behind the canoe, and with
his boggebogge knocked him down like a bullock ;
and taking possession of the canoe, all that were
in it were massacred.

We made all the sail we could to Attatai. The
wind blew against us, but, by midnight, we suc-
ceeded in reaching it, after much difficulty. The
confusion and slaughter that took place at our em-
barking, had much reduced our party. The next

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form the *moëmoë*¹ by embracing her feet when they left her. 175
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784

These higher dignities, however, were a superstructure built of the high estimation in which women were held upon the fundamental idea of the divine affinity of the Tui Tonga. The key to this belief is to be found in the epic of Kau-ulu-fonua, from whose reign Tongan history may be said to date.² The following is an unworthy prose version of the story:— 562
643
173
175
643

In days of old the Tui Tonga was lord of all Tonga—lord of the soil and of the men, and of the first-fruits; and to no other chief was tribute paid but to the Tui Tonga only. He received tribute from Haapai, from Haafulu hao,³ from Niuafo'ou,⁴ from Niua-tobutabu,⁵ from [651]
[651]
[648]

¹ A salute paid to the highest chief present. The person performing it sits cross-legged before him, and bows the head until the forehead touches the sole of the chief's foot, and then brushes the foot first with the palm and then with the back of each hand. After touching a chief's person the *moëmoë* must be performed on pain of the liver swelling up and causing death. As they are subject to scrofulous diseases, which they attribute to an unwitting breach of the *tabu*, they used to perform the *moëmoë* frequently from motives of caution, without reference to any special *tabu* they had broken. [576]
[565]
[516]
[753]
[164]

² Circa 1535. There are fragmentary traditions of an earlier time when the Tongans were in a lower social state, and cannibalism was practised. A colony from Tonga founded a powerful clan in Mangaia (Cook Islands) before the end of the fifteenth century, and it is probable that Pristaart was peopled from Tonga before the sixteenth century; but the names of the kings before Kau-ulu-fonua are unreliable (*vide* Appendix I.), and the traditions are too disconnected to be classed in their proper sequence. The old men who stored up these traditions have passed away, and it cannot now be hoped that the records of the dim past will ever be rescued from oblivion. [264]
[648]
[167]

³ Vava'u.

⁴ Boscawen Island.

⁵ Keppel's Island.

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175 far as Mua, driving their enemy before them to Hihifo.
643 The eastern and central portions of the island were
669 thus ranged against the western. Tradition has left us
no clue to the motive of Mulikihaamea, but, to judge
from Finau's subsequent conduct, it seems probable that
the rebels were assured of his support before they ven-
tured to strike the blow.¹

127 For the events that followed we have the accounts of
the missionaries who accompanied the Royalist army; of
the apostate Vason, who actually fought on the side of
the rebels; and the descriptions given by the natives to
Mariner eight years later.

175 Tukuaho fell on the night of the 21st April 1799.

669 The missionaries were scattered throughout the different
797 districts, each living under the protection of some leading
623 chief, who, though willing to protect them during times
of peace, was quite unable to restrain his people after war

579 had broken out. With the first news of the rebellion the
serfs broke down all restraint, and slaughtered pigs and
fowls wholesale to compensate them for their enforced
abstinence in times of peace. For the first fortnight
there was no general engagement, but there were slight
skirmishes which served to embitter the hostility between

266 the two parties. One of the rebels was taken prisoner,
177 and was cut up alive and eaten,—a reversion to cannibal-
ism, after the lapse of two centuries, that was owing,

175 doubtless, to the baleful example of Fiji. Ata, the hered-
669 itary chief of Hihifo, ordered the bones of Finau's father
769 to be exhumed, and hung upon a tree in Pangaimotu.
576 This was the grossest insult that could be offered to the

¹ Vason's 'Four Years in Tongatapu.'

1799.]

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should be spared. They therefore retired and called to¹⁷⁵
his sons, who came forward and bore him off in his⁶⁶⁹
litter.⁵⁸⁵
⁷²⁷

The three surviving missionaries, who had accompanied¹⁷⁵
the victorious army, had left it very early in the day,⁶⁶⁹
disgusted with the acts of ferocity they had seen. In⁷⁹⁷
one place they had come upon an old man in the act of²⁶⁶ ●
cooking part of the body of an enemy, intending ap-
parently to eat it; in another a man was celebrating his
triumph over a fallen chief by cutting up his body,—and
even some of the women dipped their hands in his blood
and licked them. On their return to their house in
Hiliifo, they found that it had been looted by their own
party and destroyed. In despair they took refuge among
the caves on the deserted Liku.

The rebel army passed the night in their canoes. At¹⁷⁵
daybreak they saw that the enemy was preparing to⁶⁶⁹
attack them in force as soon as they landed, hoping to⁷²⁵
take them by surprise at the sacred enclosure of Pangai,
the burying-place of the Tui Kanokubolu; but Finau,
warned of their intention, landed his men and attacked
them simultaneously from three points. After an ob-
stinate resistance they fled to the enclosure within which
stands the king's tomb, hoping that the sanctity of the
place would protect them. The rebels, not daring them-
selves to desecrate the place, applied to Vason, who set it
on fire. No quarter was given, and the refugees, driven¹⁷⁵
out by the fire, were all slain, except a few women who⁶⁶⁹
preferred slavery to death. These became the property of⁷²⁷
their captors. The victors now dragged the dead bodies to^[266]
the shore, exhausting their ingenuity in insulting them,

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175 and there had roasted, and begun to eat them, when the
669 enemy returned to the attack. There was a rush for the
[727] canoes. Overloaded and nearly sinking, they put off
[266] from the shore before the fugitives could all embark.
One canoe laden with men and women was aground, and
its occupants, together with those left behind, were all
massacred. The remnant of the rebel army succeeded
in reaching the island of Atatā, where they were confined
for three days by a severe gale: they spent the time in
murdering the defenceless inhabitants, who were supposed
to have Royalist sympathies. From Atatā they sailed to
Mua to take counsel for a renewal of the attack.

[797] The missionaries, who had taken refuge on the Liku,
now ventured to come out of their hiding-place and
accompany a number of the Royalists to Maofanga.
This is a sacred spot, situated a mile to the eastward
of Nukualofa, which, from the rigid *tabu* that attached
to it, had become a place of refuge never violated by war.
In a few days Finau's army made another descent upon
Hihifo by sea, and on May the 29th, after an obstinate
175 engagement, they utterly routed the enemy. On the 3d
669 of June he summoned the refugees before him at Maofanga,
727 and allowed all except ten of the leaders to go free.

Mafi, the bravest and most influential of the Royalist
warriors, and nine others were sentenced to various pun-
ishments. Some, bound hand and foot, were taken out
to sea and put adrift in leaky old canoes, while Mafi
and the others were led to the canoes amid the loud
lamentations of their wives and children, and landed at
Lofanga, a small island of the Haapai group, where they
were bound naked to cocoa-nut-trees and left to starve to

332 A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF TONGA. [1800.

175 As soon as the news reached Finau he set sail with all
669 his forces from Haapai, and disembarked at Hahake, the
eastern end of Tongatabu, in order to procure provisions
for his army; but he found that the country had been
utterly laid waste by the enemy. He therefore lost no
175 time in coasting westward. In Hihifo he met an unex-
669 pected check. The enemy had intrenched themselves
725 behind earthworks surmounted with a strong reed fence.
He tried in vain to force the gate, and when his men were
wearied with repeated attacks the enemy rushed out and
put them to flight. They ran for their canoes, and sailed
at once for Haapai. Finau was now driven to revenge
himself by a series of night attacks. He would arrive off
the coast at nightfall, and post men in every road leading
to the fortress. A sudden attack would then be made,
and the enemy, taken by surprise, would rush into the
country for shelter, where they were struck down by the
men in ambush. Before the alarm could spread to the
neighbouring forts Finau's men had re-embarked and were
[50] under sail for Haapai. These expeditions were made in a
single canoe carrying 250 men.

175 The planting season had come and gone, and the con-
669 stant alarms had prevented any provision for the ensuing
731 year from being made. The object of every hostile expe-
dition had been to destroy as much of the crops as pos-
sible. The year 1800 opened, therefore, with a terrible
famine in Tongatabu, while in Haapai the land proved
insufficient to support the large number of men congre-
175 gated there. Each district had thrown up intrenchments,
669 within which the people lived, not daring to resume the
[36] cultivation of their lands. Many were driven to can-
266

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nibalism for the support of life, and the warfare between the different fortresses degenerated into mere head-hunting expeditions. ¹⁷⁵
⁶⁶⁹
²⁶⁶

Tukuaho had been nominally succeeded by Maafuli-mulua, and upon his death, a few months later, Tukuaho's eldest surviving son, Tubou-malohi, was proclaimed Tui Kanokubolu, albeit a king without subjects. Safe within their fortresses the petty chiefs acknowledged no superior; and Tubou-malohi was so harassed by Takai, the one-eyed chief of Bea, that he became in reality a fugitive from his own subjects. Misfortunes attended all his enterprises. Having failed to avenge his father's death upon Finau and Tubou Niua, he set sail for Fiji. There he remained in voluntary exile for nearly five years; but in 1805, hearing that Finau's descents upon Tonga had become mere annual predatory expeditions, he returned and built a large fortress on the hill at Nukualofa. ¹⁷⁵
⁶⁶⁹
⁶⁴³

In 1806 an event occurred that vastly strengthened Finau's position. An English privateer, the Port-au-Prince, put into Haapai for repairs, having on board Mr Mariner, the son of one of the owners. The crew were mutinous, and insisted on going ashore, and the temptation was too great for Finau. They were massacred, and the ship was then surprised and captured by the natives. Mr Mariner became a great favourite with Finau, with whom he spent four years, and to his captivity we are indebted for a most charming book of travel. ¹⁷⁵
⁶⁰⁹
⁶⁶⁹
⁷²⁷

With the carronades of the captured ship, manned by English sailors, Finau made an attack upon Tubou-malohi's fortress and destroyed it with great slaughter. But instead of pursuing his victory he withdrew, and had the mortifi- ¹⁷⁵
⁶⁶⁹
⁷²⁵
⁷¹³

A /See 2 and 3: Mariner, this file, for this
^ account -- Analyst/

This was not the only god to whom offerings were made to ensure immunity from hurricane, but he seems to have had some especially close connection with the winds, as it is said that he has on occasion brought the people to cannibalism with his destructive hurricanes. A story is told of the heroic chief Takai, who was a match for his gusty majesty. Takai challenged Bulotu Katoa to a trial of strength, defying him to destroy a house which he should build. So the house was built strong and taut and the god invited to do his worst. Bulotu Katoa blew with all his might from the north. The house stood. The god veered round to the south. This was too much for Takai's workmanship, and the structure was demolished. Nothing daunted, Takai collected from all parts of the country beams of the hard wood called *ngeji*, and tried again. The god was invited to try his strength on this second building, but though he employed his greatest hurricanes it was in vain, for Takai's house withstood his every attempt. 776 821 [266] 773

It was to Bulotu Katoa that the man strangled under the piece of native cloth mentioned above was offered. This god is also brought into interesting connection with the murder of Tubou Niua by Tubou Toa, of which an eye-witness' account is preserved by Mariner. The two sons of Tubou Niua, Lasiki and Tubou Toutai, fled to Lakepa. In course of time Taufaaahau (afterwards King George Tubou I.), the son of Tubou Toa, paid a friendly visit to the sons of the man whom his father had slain. Lasiki and Tubou Toutai besought Bulotu Katoa to slay Taufaaahau, but the god replied that he was unable to do so, as the white man's God, whom Taufaaahau then worshipped, was too mighty for him. On this confession of impotence Lasiki and Tubou Toutai slew the priest of Bulotu Katoa, and became Christians. 776 782 [661] 727 776 [627] 797

(To be continued.)

[pp. 164-226 not processed]

574 extent, and form the chief source from whence
431 evils arise, among church members, which re-
578 quire the exercise of discipline by the Mission-
178 aries.

181 The morals of the Tonguese were never so
577 thoroughly debased as those of the Sandwich or
Society Islanders, and other groups that might
be named; but there was enough, nevertheless, to
show how low humanity could fall, when without
the restraints and sanctions of a Divine faith.

595 Polygamy was common, the number of a man's
wives depending upon his own inclination, and his
ability to keep them. Some sentiments relative to

[837] connubial fidelity prevailed, which may be said to
[586] have bordered on morality; for, after the parties
had lived together a while, mutually pleased, it was
considered disgraceful to separate. There were

also some, even among the better classes, who were
content to live with one wife only; and examples
of domestic happiness were by no means uncom-
mon. Infanticide did not disgrace the history,
and destroy the vitality of the Tonguese nation.

847 Children were nurtured with great care and affec-
855 tion; and aged people were not subjected to the
888 neglect and cruelty that was dealt out to such
persons in Fiji and other Polynesian groups. Yet,
181 with all this, there was much lasciviousness, and
831 want of natural affection.

152 There can be no doubt as to the existence of
cannibalism in these islands in former days. It
266 never became so prevalent as it once was in New
Zealand, nor so truly atrocious in its character,
as it now is, or has been in very recent years, in
the islands of Fiji. It was customary, however,
in times of war; and strange tales are told of one

CANNIBALISM.

271

of their chiefs, called Uhila, whose cannibal propensities had been intensified by a long residence in Fiji. This chief resided at Nomuka; but he was in the habit of making sudden descents upon different islands, for the purpose of clubbing and kidnapping any of the inhabitants he could lay hold of, with whose bodies he returned to Nomuka, where he performed his inhuman orgies in a cave, which is said to be still full of the bones of his many victims. The peopling of the distant island, called Pylstarts, about ninety miles to the south of Tongatabu, is attributed to this cause. In the depth of a dark and stormy night, Uhila effected a landing upon the island of Atata, one of the Tonga group. To escape his murderous attack, a party of the inhabitants hastily manned a *hamatefua*, or single-sailing canoe, which happened to be moored on the lee side of the island. Hoisting the sail, they bore away, intending to make for the adjacent coast of Tongatabu. This, however, they were unable to do, owing to the darkness and the increasing storm. They were carried they knew not whither. They seemed only to have escaped one kind of death to meet with another. But the wind and sea carried them straight upon *Ata*, the Pylstarts Island of the charts, where the little company grew into a Tonguese colony, which has, in recent years, claimed kindred with Tonga, and has received, in return, the blessing of the Gospel. In this incident, we have another example of the causes that have been in operation, leading to the dissemination of the Polynesian race and language throughout the Pacific.

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[1777]
Resolution AND Discovery

[July

563 that it almost reach[ed] his shoulder. The red feathers so often mentioned in this Narrative all come from Fidjee, as also some of their
 499 finest Striped and chequered Cloth and a few other articles. The
 [72] demand for feathers is so great that it frequently occasions quarrels
 246 for if the people of Fidjee refuse to Trade, the others rather than go
 804 without will fight for them, so at least I have been told. Now I am
 805 again with Canibals, let me ask those men who Mentain that the
 want of food first brings men to this Custom, what it is that induceth
 them to keep it up in the midst of plenty? As these people have no
 method of Measuring the distance from island to island but by the
 502 time required to sail it in one of their canoes it was necessary to
 know or at least to form some judgement how far they can sail in a
 moderate gale in any given time. With this View I went on board
 one of them when under sail, and by several tryals with the log found
 she went Seven knots or mile in an hour, close hauled in a gentle
 502 gale. From this I judge they will sail on a medium with such breezes
 805 as generally blow in their sea about seven or eight miles in an hour;
 but the length of each day is not to be reckoned at twenty four hours,
 for when they speak of one days sail, they mean no more than from
 the evening to the Morning of the same day,¹ that is ten or twelve
 hours at most. And two days sail signifies, from the Morning of the
 first day to the evening of the second and so for any other number of
 502 days. In these Navigations the Sun is their guide by day and the
 Stars by night, when these are obscured they have recourse to the
 points from whence the Wind and waves of the Sea come upon the
 Vessel. If during the obscuration both the wind and the waves shift
 (which seldom happens at any other time within the limets of the
 trade wind) they are then bewildered, frequently miss their intended
 port and are never heard of more.

504 Of all the harbours and Anchoring places I have met with about
 193 these islands that of Tongatabu is by far the best, not only from its
 great security but for capacity and the goodness of its bottom. The
 risk we ran in entering it from the North ought to be a sufficient
 caution never to attempt that passage again with a Ship of burden,
 sence the other is so much more easy and safe. To sail into it by this
 eastern Channel, steer in for the NE point of the island and keep a
 long the North Shore with the sm¹ isles on your Starb^d till you are the
 length of the east point of the entrance into the Lagoon, then edge
 over for the reef of the isles and follow its direction and it will Con-

¹ Cook has evidently slipped here, and intended 'from the morning to the evening': the correction was thus made in *Voyage*, I, p. 376. The Log, Adm 55/111, has a marginal pencil note in an eighteenth-century hand, 'should be vice versa'.

958]

[1777]
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[July

177 appears probable the inhabitants of Tonga think them worthy of
 104 imitation in many respects. I have subjoined three words which seem
 to differ much from those of the other isles.

Tama'loá A chief man
 Tama'e'ty A chief woman
 Solle A common man

648 'Feejee is the only place they know that does not bend to their
 [20] authority and they are themselves oblig'd in some measure to
 acknowledge the superiority of Feejee, a circumstance they always
 express by bending the body forwards and covering the face with
 their hands. This place is compos'd of several high isles which bear
 [50] about w from Hapaee and is much larger than Tonga. Its distance
 may be guess'd by their time of sailing to it which with a good wind is
 72 three days but with an indifferent one five or more. The inhabitants
 sometimes visit Tonga and the other isles in a hostile manner and
 carry off their hogs and other things, where they are much dreaded
 from their fighting with Bows and Slings but more so from the un-
 natural practice of eating their enemies whom they kill in battle.
 [266] This practice is detested very much by the people of Tonga (who
 [829] mention something of an Island to the eastward where the same
 custom prevails) and who cultivate the friendship of those of Feejee
 apparently out of fear, though they sometimes venture to skirmish
 with them on their own ground and carry off red feathers as their
 Booty, which are found in great plenty there and highly valued at
 648 Tonga. When they are at peace the intercourse between the islands
 177 seems pretty frequent, though they have been doubtless but lately
 231 known to each other, or we may suppose that Tonga and the other
 isles would have before this been supplied with a breed of dogs which
 171 abound at Feejee, and though now at Tonga were not to be seen
 when Captⁿ Cook was here in 1773. Contrary to the practice at
 304 Tonga the women of this place are punctur'd but not the men. We
 563 have seen several of both sexes at Tonga who are generally smaller
 than the natives of that place, are of a deeper and more shining black
 and have the hair frizzled. The Ears of some are slit and the lobe
 hangs down almost to the shoulder, like the inhabitants of some other
 isles in the south sea. They are much respected here, not only perhaps
 as a powerfull people but from their ingenuity, as they seem even to
 exceed the inhabitants of Tonga in that respect if we might judge
 from several things that come from that place: as their clubs and
 spears which are carv'd in a very masterly manner, their cloth which
 is beautifully checquer'd, variegated matts, their earthen pots, and

12 CHURCH AND STATE IN TONGA

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[565] Gradually the excitement and the material gain of these expeditions, as well as the prestige and honour given to them, particularly by the younger generations of Tonga, made these exploits an integral part of the upbringing of young chiefs. Hence the rapid increase in the volume of traffic between Tonga and Fiji during the eighteenth century.

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[721] This intercourse had far-reaching effects on political affairs in Tonga. On their return home the young warriors did not hesitate to show off the new habits they had acquired in Fiji. Cannibalism and strangling of widows were introduced and became more and more common; 'Warriors who had blooded their clubs in Fiji fretted at the inglorious routine of peace. Intrigue, treachery, murder, and rebellion resulted' (Derrick 1963:122-3). When Captain Cook first visited Tonga in 1773 he reported that, although he saw arms, the people went about unarmed and appeared peaceful. On his third voyage, in 1777, he named Lifuka, the main island of the Ha'apai group, Friendly Island. He was entirely unaware that on the very same occasion there was a plot to assassinate him and his crew, and that they were only saved by a disagreement among their chiefly hosts as to whether to carry out the plot by day or by night (Martin 1827, II:71-2).

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634 At the turn of the seventeenth century unrest began to appear, particularly in Vava'u. Vuna, a brother of the then Tu'i Kanokupolu, Mataele Ha'amea, went to Vava'u in order to quell the unrest and to restore allegiance to his brother. He was accompanied by one of his nephews, Tuituiuhu, son of Mataele Ha'amea, who went as Vuna's *le'o kava* (guardian of *kava* protocol), and by some of the lesser chiefs of the *ha'a* Havea. However, after staying in Vava'u for a while, Vuna abandoned his original intentions and decided to extend his own powers, pronouncing himself Tu'i Vava'u (ruler of Vava'u) and establishing his own court at Pangaimotu, an island off Vava'u (informant, Her Majesty, the late Queen Sālote).

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643 Meanwhile, the struggle for power continued on Tongatapu. One of Mataele Ha'amea's sons, Ma'afu'otuitonga, succeeded to the position of Tu'i Kanokupolu. He had three sons, Tupoulahi, Ma'aliuaki and Mumui, all of whom succeeded to the position. However, when Ma'aliuaki's son, Mulikiha'amea, decided to

16 CHURCH AND STATE IN TONGA

648 battles.¹⁰ His death marked the end of the Tu'i Ha'atakalaua
634 line.¹¹

669 In May 1799 'Ulukālala and his army attacked Hihifo. An eye-
175 witness account by Vason, a renegade L.M.S. missionary living
175 under Mulikiha'amea, reported that it was a tough and bloody
634 battle in which the Hihifo army was forced to retreat, leaving
669 many of their warriors behind, dead. Some took refuge at a
726 sacred burial place in Pangai, believing that its sanctity would
protect them from violence. Fīnau 'Ulukālala then appealed to
Vason to set fire to the sanctuary and he complied, throwing a
fire brand into the thatch of a house in the enclosure, which
ignited and quickly spread. Many of those sheltering inside were
burnt to death or killed by Fīnau 'Ulukālala's men as they tried to
escape. 'Ulukālala's men dragged the bodies to the beach 'and
[727] after inflicting every brutal insult of savage cruelty, roasted and
[266] ate them—thinking it was just revenge on their enemies to devour
them' (Orange 1840:175).

175 After he had defeated his opponents in Tongatapu in 1799,
634 and as a gesture of contempt and ridicule for the defeated party,
669 he and his half-brother, Tupouniua, set up a white pig in Hahake,
[643] as Tu'i Kanokupolu, and one of his chiefs, Veahahake, as the
pig's representative (Blanc 1934:28) before proceeding to Ha'apai
and Vava'u. In Ha'apai he crushed his opponents with utter
ruthlessness and made himself ruler of Ha'apai. Describing what
happened to his opponents in Ha'apai, Mariner recalled:

175 Some were sent on board old and useless canoes, which were then
634 scuttled and immediately sunk; others were taken three or four leagues
669 out to sea, and being put in old leaky ones, and tied hand and foot,
727 were left gradually to meet their fate. Those against whom Finow
entertained the greatest inveteracy were taken to the island of Lofanga,

¹⁰ Vason, who lived with Mulikiha'amea, revealed that an arrangement
had previously been made, that upon Tuku'aho's death, Mulikiha'amea
would become Tu'i Kanokupolu (Orange 1840:163).

[727] ¹¹ The L.M.S. missionaries gave a vivid description of the horrors of this
war. They recorded how they saw a warrior being killed and, 'a fellow
who had severed his head and body asunder was exhibiting them as
a proof of his prowess; and even some of the women, as they passed
him dipped their hands in his blood, and licked them' (*Missionary
Transactions*, 10 May 1799:288).

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569 because of their skills in making and repairing iron tools and, more importantly, as interpreters between the two cultures.

634 With the guns of the *Port-au-Prince* and the services of the
669 Englishmen, Finau 'Ulukālala decided to launch another major
726 attack on Tongatapu. This new onslaught, in 1807, heralded a new
177 phase in the history of warfare in Tonga, more dangerous and
[113] devastating than ever before. The fortress at Nuku'alofa was destroyed in record time. With the support of artillery and muskets, manned by Finau's white captives, the Tongans with their spears, clubs and fire-brands in hand, burnt down the fortress, slaying its men, women and children. Mariner recorded this destruction:

When Finow arrived upon the place, and saw several canoes, which had been hauled up on the garrison, shattered to pieces by the shot, and discovered a number of legs and arms lying around, and about three hundred and fifty dead bodies, he expressed his wonder and astonishment at the dreadful effect of the guns. He then thanked his men for their bravery, and Mr Mariner and his companions in particular, for the great assistance rendered by them. (Martin 1827, I:98)

669 On the advice of the priests, the victors rebuilt the fortress and,
727 ignoring Mariner's advice to launch a full-scale invasion of Tonga-
669 tapu, they engaged only in light skirmishes. As there was an acute
727 shortage of food due to civil war, some proposed killing the
266 prisoners and roasting them for food. 'The proposal was readily
agreed to, by some, because they liked this sort of diet, and by
others because they wanted to try it thinking it a manly and
warlike habit' (Martin 1827, I:108).

Meanwhile, Tākai of Pea, a member of the Ha'a Havca, was the most powerful chief in Tongatapu at the time. He entered into an alliance with 'Ulukālala, pretending to acknowledge his rule, but immediately after the latter left for Ha'apai, Tākai and his men destroyed the fortress which 'Ulukālala had rebuilt at Nuku'alofa. This greatly angered 'Ulukālala, but further troubles in Ha'apai and Vava'u kept him occupied until his death in 1809.

634 The trouble in Vava'u and Ha'apai stemmed from a plot by
661 Tupouto'a, 'Ulukālala's other half-brother, to avenge himself upon
Tupouniua who had murdered his father, 'Tuku'aho. Tupouniua governed Vava'u on 'Ulukālala's behalf and was a popular and

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539 first plant, stagger a bit, and then bite the second plant, after
773 which he recovered his balance.

276 One day Lo'au came to the island and the couple told him all that had happened. (Lo'au is a figure who turns up in Tongan legend and mythology at times when social institutions are being established or changed. He tells the people how to organize their social life and then fades from view. He is thought of as human, not a god, and he is called the 'carpenter of the land', which, freely translated, means the establisher of social customs.)

When Lo'au heard the couple's story he sat in silence for a time, deeply moved, and then he spoke in poetry telling them what they should do. They must take the two plants to the King and give him Lo'au's instructions about how the plants should be used. The one from the head was to be used to make a drink, and that was the kava, and the other was to be eaten with the drink, and that was the sugar cane. The couple did as Lo'au had told them. At first the King thought their plant might be poisonous. He had one of his matāpule taste it first. But on finding it was all right he directed the people to carry out Lo'au's instructions.

And so kava was made for the first time and the rules and procedures for making it were established.

276 Tongans say that the origin of the kava from the leprous girl explains some of its properties. The shoots of the kava plant grow, split, and become limey and grey like the skin of a leper, and the skin of those who drink too much kava becomes grey and scaly like the skin of a leper. There are other linguistic

[226] links with the idea of kava as a poison. *Kavafisi* and *kavahaha* are creepers used as fish poisons. The word '*kavahia*' means

● [246] to be nauseated. Some informants told me that they felt nauseated when they drank strong green kava, and nausea is said to have been the Tongan reaction to attempts to copy the Fijian custom of *actually* eating human flesh.⁵ At the same time, in other contexts Tongans said that kava loosened the tongue and made one feel pleasantly relaxed. Thus there is a series of

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121 2. Many anthropologists, especially in Britain, do not share Audrey Richards's and my view that understanding of unconscious mental processes is relevant to the analysis of social events. They are particularly apprehensive that psychoanalysts will attempt to explain social events in terms of individual needs. Their attitude is paralleled by the psychoanalyst's conviction that the complex events of the consulting room cannot be reduced to the level of neuro-anatomy. See especially Leach (1958); Lévi-Strauss (1964), especially Chapter 3; Gluckman (1964); Turner (1964); and Fox (1967).

276 3. For discussion of the chemical constituents and physiological action of kava see especially Keller and Klohs, 1963. Dr C. R. B. Joyce, Reader in Psycho-Pharmacology at the University of London has very kindly reviewed the literature for me and reports the following conclusions: 'All in all, my impression remains firm that this substance is not remarkable for its pharmacological activity; that such active properties as it contains have not been isolated so far (there is more activity on animals in the watery or chloroform extract, for example, than in any so far identified substance); and that the whole situation is a remarkable example of the placebo phenomenon in a wide and important social setting.' Personal communication, May 1967.

276 4. A similar institution is found among certain Bantu tribes. A. I. Richards (1950) calls it 'positional succession'; I. Cunison (1956) calls it 'perpetual kinship'.

565 5. Tongans say that cannibalism was not indigenous to Tonga, 276 but that early in the nineteenth century groups of young Tongan 266 warriors visited Fiji, adopted the practice of eating slain enemies, 177 and continued to practise this custom when they returned home to Tonga. The new custom was not adopted with enthusiasm and was soon abandoned.

565 6. The analysis of these three principles of social differentiation, 554 political authority (titles), political power, and personal rank was first worked out by my husband, James Spillius, and was presented to the Tenth Pacific Science Congress at Honolulu in 1961 in a paper entitled 'Rank and Political Structure in Tonga'.

276 7. This complex of ceremonies is a striking example of what Max 574 Gluckman has called the 'ritualization' of social relations in small- 565 scale ('tribal') societies. He attributes this 'ritualization' to '... the 554 fact that each social relation in a subsistence economy tends to serve manifold purposes... it is from this situation that I see emerging the relatively great development of special customs and

Ha'ateiho is the place where three London Missionary Society missionaries were killed in 1799. At Bea may be seen the spot where Captain Croker was killed and three naval guns were captured in 1840. 648
[797]

There is a good example of an old fort in fair preservation at Hule, near Nukunuku. The most remarkable of the numerous trenches of the island is known as the Keli-'a-Belchake, which extends from Vaotu'u to Nukunuku, Te'ekiu, Masilamea, and back to the southern coast at Fahefa; tradition states that this was actually dug in a single night during a war between the men of Hahake and those of Hihifo led by Vaha'i, at some undetermined time probably in the early 19th century. The name of a hamlet, 'Umutagata, also in the western district, recalls a rare instance of human cremation and cannibalism. 712
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At Kolovai there is the enclosure where the former Tu'i Kanokubolu were invested with office; a piece of the koka tree under which these kings sat has been placed in the modern coronation chair at Nuku'alofa. The tombs of these kings are also at Kolovai. This village is well-known to tourists as a sanctuary for great numbers of flying-foxes. 643
[764]
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Houma, on the south-west coast, is noted for the blow-holes which extend along the cliffs for a considerable distance. 133

In the extreme north-west of the island, at Ha'atafu, a monument stands to mark the landing-place of the first Wesleyan missionaries (1826). Tasman in 1643 and Cook in 1773 also landed nearby. 648
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Navigation lights now stand at Ha'atafu, Nuku'alofa and Malinoa, an island north of Nuku'alofa. The quarantine station is situated at Makaha'a, another island off Nuku'alofa. 502
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Ancient stone-quarries are to be seen at Motutabu and Bagaimotu, small islands not far from Nuku'alofa. It seems more than probable that the stones used in the great tombs (lagi) at Mu'a and elsewhere were cut at these places, and certainly not at Uvea and other distant islands to which old native traditions refer. 316
174

HA'ABAI. It is considered that this name is derived from Savai'i, the island in Samoa from which the ancient Tongans probably came. Ha'abai is a scattered archipelago of small islands, the total area of which is less than that of 'Eua, if the uninhabited volcanic islands of Tofua and Kao are excluded. Yet these islets support a population of 6,410, most of whom have small tax-allotments or none at all, and despite the difficulties of getting a livelihood—difficulties which hurricanes and droughts have increased in recent years—the number of people who have gone to take up land in Togatabu and Vava'u is not considerable. The people of Ha'abai have always been renowned as skilful navigators and fishermen. 103
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The Governor of Ha'abai resides at Bagai, Lifuka, which was also the boyhood home and always the favourite residence of Tubou I. Cook was entertained at a great festival and a plot was made against his life on this island in 1777. Mariner's vessel, the "Port-au-Prince," was also attacked here, and the cemetery of the murdered sailors is at Koulo, Lifuka. 634
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Uoleva, now uninhabited, has a remarkable number of pigeon-mounds used by chiefs in ancient times, also an old sunken road of unknown use extending through the island. 172

There were three divisions in the Tongan Pantheon — the Tangaloa, gods 776
in the sky, the Maui in the underworld (who caused earthquakes and gave other
evidence of their power), and Hikule'o, who presided over Pulu, the paradise
in the west. The Tu'i Tonga was regarded as the high priest of Hikule'o and 776
his wife, the Moheofo, was priestess or servant (*kaumanga*) of Hikule'o. The 793
priests of the various deities professed to receive and utter oracles from the gods 643
in trance-like experiences. Only the priests entered the gods' houses; the suppliants 644
sat humbly outside. The priests were not always respected, especially when their 787
statements did not suit influential interrogators. Tongans believed also in gods
of natural forces (the winds, the sea, the harvest), gods of sacred places, and
even creatures which frequented these places and were thought to embody the
spirit of the ancestral chief of a neighbouring tribe.⁽¹⁰⁾

The offering of human sacrifice by strangulation, when a chief or a member 782
of his family was threatened with death, was never practised as frequently as 77
in Fiji and became less common as time went on; instances, however, were
recorded by Mariner during his sojourn in Tonga (1806-10) and by missionaries
later. The victim was generally a youth, the child of one of the chief's secondary
wives. Instead of a life it became customary to amputate fingers and offer these 782
as substitute sacrifices. Cook wrote, 304

"There was scarcely one in ten I did not find mutilated in one or more hands." (11)

George Tupou I (c. 1797-1893) had lost two little fingers in his youth. When
a chief died, women cut their hair and beat their cheeks until they were covered
with blood, and men wounded themselves with clubs and spears, to show their
sorrow and their devotion to the deceased. The more savage practices found in 171
Fiji, such as cannibalism, infanticide, and the premature burying of the very old, 266
were practically unknown in Tonga. There was indeed a great respect for the 247
aged and a strong affection for children. Cannibalism, in imitation of Fijian 268
customs, was practised in the Civil Wars which began in 1799, but it was 883
regarded with utter abhorrence in normal times. 858
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Tonga's usually orderly and pleasant existence continued through the 177
centuries until the early 17th Century when the first contact was made with
Europeans who, in the people's phrase, burst through the skies with their tall
ships; hence the word for Europeans, *Papālangi*, or sky-bursters. This happened
first in the distant northern islands of Niua Toputapu and Niua Fo'ou. Jan
Schouten and Jacob Lemaire came in two ships around Cape Horn searching
for what was expected to be a great southern continent in the vast expanse of
the South Pacific Ocean. On 9 May 1616 the Dutchmen saw a canoe with
about twenty-five people; these were Tongans whose first knowledge of the
outside world was the firing of warning shots. The Dutchmen followed the canoe
to Tafahi and the adjacent island, Niua Toputapu. The visitors did not land on
either. Surprised at the appearance of human beings so different from themselves
and ships so unlike their canoes, the people attempted to steal one of the ships'
boats during the trading for vegetables and other supplies. When the vessels
were going across from Tafahi to Niua Toputapu, a large fleet of canoes attacked
the ships with stones. No fatalities occurred then, but, during the subsequent
visit of the Dutchmen to Niua Fo'ou, the island to the west, two Tongans were
killed when trying to capture one of the ships' boats. It was an unhappy
introduction to the Tongans' contact with Europeans.

[1799-1800]

only against men from Ha'apai and Vava'u, led by Finau 'Ulukalala, the head 175
and front of the rebellion, but also the followers of the Ha'a Havea chiefs in the 669
central district of Tongatapu. Mulikiha'amea, the Tu'i Ha'atakalaau, from that 634
district, allied himself with Finau 'Ulukalala; the renegade Vason relates that 643
Mulikiha'amea, his patron, had known of the plot to kill Tuku'aho.

In the first battle the rebel coalition was successful, but soon afterwards it 175
was defeated by the royalists at the battle of Te'ekiu, and Mulikiha'amea himself 669
was killed in this fight, on 19 May 1799. The lamentable deaths of three L.M.S.
missionaries took place that day.

The defeated rebels fled from Te'ekiu, with the Hihifo men in hot pursuit. 175
Three of the missionaries (Samuel Harper, David Howell, and Samuel Gaulton) 669
had been living in Ha'ateiho, a village in the central district, under the protection 797
of the local chief. On this fatal day, 19 May, some of the retreating rebels tried 609
to persuade the missionaries in Ha'ateiho to flee with them in canoes across the
lagoon to the eastern end of the island. The three men preferred to remain.
Soon afterwards the Hihifo pursuers appeared. One of these was a man with a
grudge against the missionaries who had refused his request for an axe some
time before. Taking advantage of the white men's helpless situation, this warrior
and his comrades clubbed them to death without hesitation and then proceeded
to steal everything in their house. Together with the three missionaries there
perished a friendly English sailor named Burnham who had been living with
them. The four bodies, grossly disfigured, were left on the roadside for several
weeks, treated with coarse indignities by the now utterly savage Tongans. It was
on 5 June that the other missionaries found the almost unidentifiable remains
and buried them in a shallow trench, without coffins or shrouds; later, the chief
of Ha'ateiho reinterred the bodies in a decent grave, the location of which is
unknown today.

The confused battles of the Sea Flats, along the northern shores of Tongatapu, 175
followed. In these, fortunes changed several times. In the course of these desultory 669
encounters many of the royalists took refuge in the burial-enclosure of the Tu'i
Kanokupolu line at Pangai, Hihifo, expecting to find sanctuary in such a sacred
place. Because Vason was outside the *tapu* (= prohibition) he was persuaded
by the rebels to set fire to the burial-enclosure. All those within, men, women and
children, were burnt to death or were killed by Finau's men as they tried to
escape from the flames. After every possible insult had been heaped on the 266
bodies they were eaten. Cannibalism had become commonplace in these days of
barbarism.

The five surviving missionaries were in a most precarious position. At first 175
they found shelter in caves on the southern coast. Their house in Hihifo had 669
been ransacked and burnt down, their clothes stolen by the people among whom 797
they had lived, and they had very little food. On 24 January 1800 they were
fortunate in securing a passage to Sydney in a passing ship, *Betsy*. William Shelley
and James Cooper decided to settle in New South Wales. The others (Seth Kelso,
John Buchanan, and James Wilkinson) continued on the voyage to England.

When Captain Wilson brought another party of L.M.S. missionaries to the 175
South Seas in the *Royal Admiral* in 1800, his instructions were to call at 797
Tongatapu and to take away any who desired to leave. If they were staying he
was charged to inform them that one or more should be ordained so that there
would be at least three ordained ministers in every L.M.S. station such as

[1800-

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Tongatapu. If Tahiti had proved an unsuitable field and if conditions in Tongatapu were more favourable, he was instructed to take all the missionaries to Tongatapu "as a refuge for the whole of our brethren".⁽³⁾ Instead of being able to fulfil these instructions he found that the Mission in Tongatapu had ended in complete failure.

Vason, who had accompanied Finau 'Uluakalala to Vava'u after a lull in the fighting in Tongatapu, was able to get a passage on the same ship, *Royal Admiral*, when it called at Vava'u in August 1801. In England he sincerely repented of his apostasy and his participation in the savage conflicts in Tongatapu. Thenceforth he lived a quiet Christian life and was Governor of Nottingham Gaol for some years. During this time he wrote his *Authentic Narrative of Four Years' Existence at Tongatapu*, which narrated the experiences of the L.M.S. missionaries.

Conditions in Tonga deteriorated still further in the next few years, with repeated attacks on Tongatapu and the destruction of plantations by Finau 'Uluakalala's marauding parties. Most of the people in that island lived in forts for safety, and practically no planting was done for fear of being ambushed in the gardens. The consequence was famine, more terrible than any known before these disastrous years. Famine raged in Ha'apai also. The cannibalism practised out of bravado during the fighting was extended even to the eating of the flesh of relatives, because of the desperate plight of the famine-stricken people. It has been estimated that more than one-fourth of the population of Tonga died in the period 1799-1820 as victims of war and famine. The early Wesleyan missionaries noted as an evidence of the depopulation of Tongatapu that females outnumbered males approximately two to one.

Footnotes:

- (1) Newbury, C. M., edition of John Davies, *History of the Tahitian Mission, 1799-1830*, 113 Vol. I, p. xxix.
(2) Lovett, R., *History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, Vol. I, p. 64.
(3) McKern, W. C., *Archaeology of Tonga*, p. 122.
(4) Derrick, R. A., *A History of Fiji*, p. 122.
(5) Haws, Dr. Thomas, *Papers; Royal Admiral Journal*, A. 1963. M.L.S.

A /see 12: Vason, this file -- Analyst/
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